

# THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOL. XVIII NO. 2

JUNE 1936

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# THE ART BULLETIN

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

VOLUME 10, NUMBER 1, 1938

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

54 EAST LAKE STREET

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60607

U.S. POSTAL SERVICE PERMIT NO. 1000

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

NO POSTAGE NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

Subscription price, \$5.00 per annum in advance

Single copies, 50 cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1925

Postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices

Postmaster: Send address changes to THE ART BULLETIN

University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

Postage paid at Chicago, Ill., and at additional mailing offices

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*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: End of Reliquary of St. Amandus (See page 187)*

# THE CYNISCUS OF POLYCLITUS

By DAVID M. ROBINSON

IN the year 1905 I noticed among Mr. Walters' antiquities a statue<sup>1</sup> which I at once recognized as a very fine Roman copy of a Polyclitan statue (Fig. 1) of the type of the so-called Westmacott Athlete<sup>2</sup> in the British Museum. Some years passed before the statue was given proper recognition, but finally on my request it was brought up from the basement and exhibited to the left of the main staircase of the Walters Art Gallery. Now, under the able direction of Mr. Morgan Marshall and of Dr. Dorothy Hill, in charge of the Classical Section, it holds a place of honor on the south side of the main central court on the first floor. It formed part of the Massarenti collection in Rome which was sold *in toto* to Mr. Walters in July, 1902. Cardinal Massarenti traveled extensively over Italy and collected antiquities in many places so that it is impossible to say that the provenance of the statue is Rome. But it probably is the statue mentioned in the *Römische Mitteilungen*, VIII (1893), p. 102, no. 5, "già Maraini, ora presso Marinangeli, riconosciuta or son quattro anni dal Kalkmann, priva della testa, delle braccia e della gamba s. dal ginocchio in giù."<sup>3</sup> The Walters statue is of Greek marble (probably Parian) and seems to be of good enough workmanship to date from the Augustan age, though it might possibly be Hadrianic.<sup>4</sup> The head is missing, though the break in the neck would indicate that it was inclined toward the right side of the figure. The left hand and the whole right arm are lost, but the raised right shoulder and the preserved protruding bit of an attachment<sup>4</sup> to support the right hand show that the arm was raised even more than in the Diadumenus attributed sometimes to Phidias (about 450 B. C.) of which there is a Roman copy in the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> Probably the right hand was not holding a fillet but a bronze wreath, with which the boy was crowning himself. Traces of such a crown appear in several similar Roman copies. The motif of the restored statue (Fig. 6) is thus confirmed.<sup>6</sup> The right foot below the ankle is missing, as is also the left leg below the knee. The right foot attached by a modern iron to the right ankle is of larger proportions and of much coarser workmanship with unshapely toes. The foot belongs to a circular base broken into several pieces which fit together so that the support,<sup>2</sup> even though it has the same five divisions and

1. The height from the neck to the right ankle is 1.11 m.; to the bottom of the base 1.36 m. I am indebted to Mr. Morgan Marshall and the Trustees and the Advisory Council of the Walters Art Gallery for permission to publish the statue.

2. Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, pl. 46; Smith, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum*, III, no. 1754. This copy as well as the support of the Baltimore copy (which does not belong to the torso) may date as late as the second century A. D. Supports of the first century A. D. are plain and even those of the Hadrianic period are mere trunks. Cf. Fritz Muthmann, *Hadrianische und Antoninische Statuenstützen*, Freiburg diss., 1927.

3. There is said to have been a drawing of the statue in the German Archaeological Institute at Rome, but even with the help of Professor Curtius and of Staatsrat Theodor Wiegand I have been unable to find

it either in Rome or in Berlin. The *Massarenti Catalogue*, no. 4, says that the statue is of Parian marble and that there is a photograph by a German savant.

4. This does not appear in the Westmacott Athlete.

5. Cf. Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*,<sup>2</sup> pl. 49; Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 271.

6. Cf. Furtwaengler-Sellers, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, 1895, p. 250, fig. 102; Baumgarten, Poland, and Wagner, *Die hellenische Kultur*,<sup>3</sup> 1913, p. 383. Some have thought that the boy was holding a strigil to his hair as in the Pompeian painting (*Röm. Mitt.*, III (1888), p. 199, fig. 1); others believe that the statue represented Narcissus raising his hand to his forehead to shade his eyes while looking at his reflection in the water. But where is the water? In *B.C.H.*, V (1881), pl. 3, there is a relief of an athlete crowning himself and such a restoration seems to be the best. Fig. 6 shows a plaster reconstruction in Munich.



the same incised triangular decorations as the Westmacott copy, must also come from some other ancient statue. Part of the front of the base comes from a third statue. Furthermore there does not seem to be room for the left leg beside the palm tree trunk used as a support, which is a separate piece, and there are no distinct traces of the left foot on the circular base, as there should be, if it belonged to the statue. Most of the base with the support and the right foot, then, come from another Roman statue and it has been set onto another high circular base which does not belong to any of the three statues used in the present combination. The right leg below the knee and the small piece added to the end of the left arm also do not belong to the original statue.

As has already been stated, the Baltimore torso resembles in its stance the Westmacott Athlete, which is of about the same height, though less than adult size.<sup>7</sup> There can be no doubt that the two statues are Roman copies of the same Greek original of the fifth century B. C. (cf. Figs. 1 and 2). The resemblance in treatment of bodily anatomical details is close but better. There is a Polyclitan demarcation of protruding muscles and not a Praxitelean modulation. The ribs under the left arm are well indicated and the back of the left shoulder is an excellent piece of sculpturing. The line separating the abdomen from the hips is a little heavy; the pelvic muscles are pronounced; and the outline of the abdominal muscles is somewhat archaic but shows feeling for correct bodily composition. The muscles on both front and back are unusually good. There is a conventional treatment of the central line down the body, the separating line between the abdomen and the thigh is somewhat exaggerated, and the pose is sentimental but the execution is good. The roll of flesh above the left knee-cap, on the other hand, is less protuberant than in the Westmacott copy and better rendered in the Walters copy. The workmanship of the body is excellent, and there is a wonderful play of light and shade, enhanced by many dimples on the back and on the thighs. Possibly the execution is not as excellent as in an unpublished torso from the interior of Thessaly in the Museum of Volo (Fig. 5), the knowledge and photograph of which I owe to Dr. Paul Clement.<sup>8</sup> It reminds one of the torso in the Hermitage (see note 31). The Volo torso shows such understanding of anatomy and such strength that it might be considered a late Greek copy. The back of the Walters statue is perhaps better done than the front but the central line is too deep. The sides of the hips are somewhat flat and there is a certain softness and smoothness which can be seen even in the reproductions (Figs. 3 and 4).

Let us first, however, consider the identification of the Walters statue, its original, its style, and then test and list the other known copies. Many authorities have identified the type with Polyclitus' recorded work, the victor-statue of the boy, Cyniscus of Mantinea, who perhaps won the boxing match in the Olympic games between 468 and 456 B. C. or after 448 B. C. There seems to be no doubt that the stance is Polyclitan, since Polyclitus made statues with one foot advanced and with the weight thrown firmly on one leg (*Stand-bein*), the other merely touching the ground with the toes. Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXIV, 56) says: "proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa excogitasse," which perhaps does not mean that the weight was thrown solidly on one leg (that would require *uni cruri*) but that the figure moved forward with one foot in advance. Of course Polyclitus was not the first to create this stance but he made so much use of it that he got the credit for it and it is still

7. The height of the Westmacott statue is 1.48 m. or 4' 11".

8. Volo Museum, Inv. no. 620. Height 0.61 m. Circumference of chest 0.86 m. Found by Arvanito-

poulos but exact provenance unknown. The director of the museum of Volo, N. J. Giannopoulos, has kindly given me permission for its publication here.



FIG. 1—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery:*  
*Roman Copy of the Cyniscus of Polyclitus*

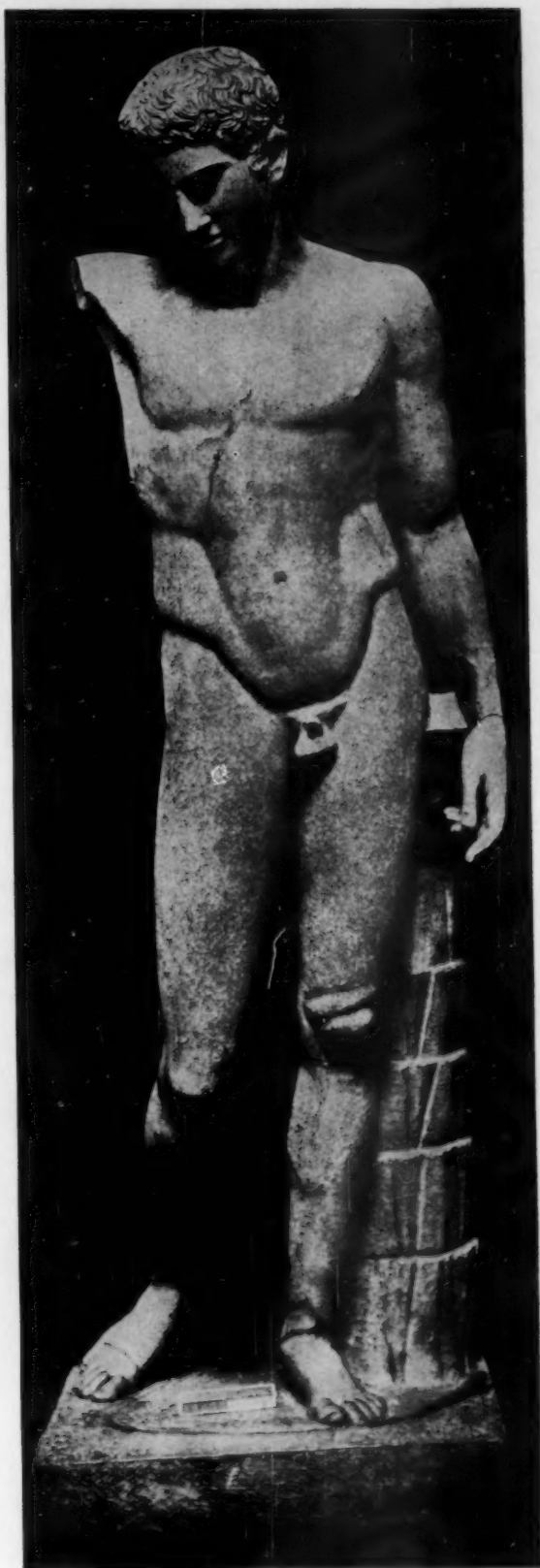


FIG. 2—*London, British Museum:*  
*Westmacott Athlete*





FIGS. 3 AND 4—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Back Views of Cyniscus Shown in Fig. 1*

known as the Polyclitan stance. In his earlier years Polyclitus may have advanced the left leg, but in his later statues (the Doryphorus,<sup>9</sup> Diadumenus,<sup>10</sup> the Amazon,<sup>11</sup> etc.) he put the right leg forward. If the original bronze of our statue were an early work or if it represented a boy and not a mature athlete, this would account for the slender form. But some scholars<sup>12</sup> have argued that the exaggeration of the attitude, and the sinking of the right hip show the work, not of the master himself but of some pupil or successor, as does the Idolino in Florence. There is little doubt of the Polyclitan character of the statue, but the close-clinging curls resemble so closely those of the Doryphorus and other features are so Polyclitan that the weight of authority inclines toward identification with some statue of Polyclitus and most probably with the Cyniscus. Let us examine the evidence.

Pausanias<sup>13</sup> says, in speaking of statues of athletes at Olympia: "The statue of Cyniscus, the boy boxer from Mantinea, is by Polyclitus." Now the Germans in the excavation of 1877 actually found the original inscribed marble base, though not the bronze statue itself.<sup>14</sup> The inscription runs round the upper surface, and says in an elegiac couplet:

Πύ[κτας τόν]δ' ἀνέ[θ]ηκεν ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο [Κ]υνίσ[κ]ο[ς]  
Μαν[τ]ιν[έ]ας νικῶν, πατρός ἔχων ὄνομ[α].

"A boxer, Cyniscus dedicated this, from famous Mantinea, who won, having his father's name."

Some scholars object to the idea that so famous a statue, as the more than thirty Roman copies preserved indicate it was, could have survived till the second century A. D., when Pausanias seems to have seen it. But the Victory of Paeonius, the Hermes of Praxiteles, and many other statues have survived. Moreover a detailed study of the marks of the feet on the base<sup>15</sup> shows that in the original bronze statue the weight was on the advanced left foot, whereas the right leg rested on the ball of the foot. The size, position, length and distance apart of the holes and marks seem to fit very well the feet of the Westmacott Athlete, as has been tested by a cast.<sup>16</sup> The inscription would date between 460 and 440 B. C. A papyrus<sup>17</sup> found in Egypt helps scholars to conjecture the date of the victory of Cyniscus as possibly in the eightieth Olympiad (ca. 460 B. C.). But the time of the erection of the

9. Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 273, 279 a, 336; and on Polyclitus' characteristics in general: Paris, *Polyclète*, 1892; Mahler, *Polyklet und seine Schule*, 1902; Anti, *Monumenti Antichi*, XXVI (1920), 501-792; Miss Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, pp. 244-253.

10. Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 272, 340; Bulle, *op. cit.*, pls. 49-50; Miss Richter, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, XXVII (1932), pp. 250-252; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), pp. 49-52.

11. Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 348; *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 2-5.

12. For example E. A. Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors*, p. 129.

13. VI, 4, 11: Κυνίσκω δὲ τῷ ἐκ Μαντινείας πύκτη παιδί ἐποίησε Πολύκλειτος τὴν εἰκόνα.

14. Cf. *Arch. Zeit.*, XL (1882), p. 189; Dittenberger and Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, no. 149; Roehl, *I.G.A.* 99 and Add.; *Imagines*,<sup>3</sup> p. 32, no. 7; Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, p. 43, no. 50; Roberts, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, no. 280; *Monumenti Antichi*, XXVI (1920), col. 729, fig. 86.

15. Cf. Anti, in *Monumenti Antichi*, XXVI (1920),

col. 729, fig. 86; *Arch. Zeit.*, XL (1882), p. 189; Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, p. 43, no. 50.

16. Cf. Anti, *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), col. 730, fig. 86. Even Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, p. 212, says: "Here the feet match the base of the Cyniscus statue, but Polycleitus varied his poses so little that the identity of the two remains questionable. Judging by the smooth features, it is not a work of the artist's early life, so that the proposed association with the Cyniscus is weakened." But we know that Polycleitus did smooth features as in the Diadumenus (*molliter juvenem*), of which the Delos copy shows much smoothness, and moreover some of these characteristics may be due to the Roman copyist.

17. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II, p. 85, CCXXII. This papyrus gives the dates of Olympic victors between 480 and 468 B. C. and between 456 and 448 B. C. So perhaps Cyniscus' victory was between 468 and 456 B. C. or after 448 B. C. Robert (*Hermes*, XXXV (1900), p. 186) argued that the victory was in 460 B. C., putting the inscription in that year by comparison with other inscribed bases at Olympia, although some epigraphists now date the Aristion and Pythocles bases much later than he did.

statue need not coincide with that of the victory, as it might have been set up ten or fifteen years later. There is no special reason, however, why the original should not have been made soon after 460, though the prevailing opinion<sup>18</sup> assumes a later date, about 450 B. C.

The original was surely of bronze and Polyclitan, as is shown by the modeling of the body and the well-developed pelvic muscles. The bronze technique is apparent in the treatment of the hair in the Westmacott Athlete. It has the flat, closely clipped, and clinging quality seen in bronze statues, with individual strands clearly marked, and not the luxurious free effect of the hair of a statue originally conceived in marble.<sup>19</sup> The two supports of the Westmacott Athlete, the one from the left wrist to the left thigh and the palm tree trunk along the left leg, also point to a bronze original. The fact that supports in marble statues do not necessarily prove a bronze original has been brought out by Miss Richter in *A.J.A.*, XXXV (1931), p. 280, in discussing the Hermes of Praxiteles (cf. also *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), pp. 49-52). In the Hermes the supports are an integral part of the statue, not things that were added in copying in marble from a bronze original. She shows this by application of a principle to which classical statues regularly conform that "when the weight of the body is carried on one foot, not distributed between two feet, the balance demands that a vertical line from the suprasternal notch (between the two clavicles) touch the inner ankle bone of the leg which carries the weight of the figure. It is only when the weight is distributed between the carrying leg and the outside support that this rule does not apply." When this rule is applied to the Hermes, it is found that the line touches the ankle bone of the *non*-supporting leg. Accordingly the sculptor conceived the statue as supported externally and the support cannot be evidence for a bronze original. If, using photographs, we apply the rule to the Westmacott Athlete which has a support, thus differing from the evidence of the Cyniscus base, we find that the vertical line from the clavicles very nearly touches the ankle bone of the left, supporting leg. Thus we see that the support was not conceived as an integral part of the statue in the original and that the original could very well have been a bronze standing without support.

Stylistic evidence is brought to bear on the problem of identification by various critics who use for comparison the recognized copies of works by Polyclitus, the Capitoline Amazon, the Doryphorus, and the Diadumenus. Ancient evidence of the style of Polyclitus is gleaned from Pliny who unfortunately makes no mention of the Cyniscus in his list of Polyclitus' works. Pliny<sup>20</sup> says that Polyclitus' style was *quadrata et paene ad unum exemplum*. *Quadrata* is capable of several translations. As a Latin translation of the Greek τετράγωνος it may mean square, perfect as a square, or possibly with good balance in composition. It may also mean squarely built. *Ad unum exemplum* signifies that Polyclitus'

18. Cf. for example Miss Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 250, who dates the Cyniscus 450-440 B. C. Langlotz, *Fruehgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, 1927, p. 182, no. 7, agrees that the statue may represent Cyniscus who won in 460 but dates it later, comparing it with the ephebos on the Parthenon frieze. Walston, *Alcámenes*, p. 220, pl. XXIII, fig. 194, likewise compares the Parthenon frieze:

"I should be inclined to select among extant works of Phidias representing his rendering of a young ephebos, the so-called Westmacott youth in the British Museum. This is no doubt related to the Polycleitan

youths, such as the bronze statue called Idolino at Florence, but, on the other hand, it is most closely akin to some of the figures from the Parthenon frieze, notably to those from the Western frieze here given in outline, which, in their attitudes taken together, show the same composition as this Westmacott youth, while the head again, with its facial angle, presents the Argive-Attic type in contradistinction to the Alcameanean type of the Naples bronze."

19. Cf. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, p. 156; Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 544.

20. *N.H.*, XXXIV, 56.



statues were lacking in variety and followed one norm or canon.<sup>21</sup> E. A. Gardner<sup>22</sup> used these statements of Pliny to argue that the Westmacott Athlete type has nothing to do with the other three recognized works of Polyclitus. He says, "If works by Polyclitus like this were familiar, it is difficult to understand how his monotony could have been so much insisted upon by ancient writers." He chooses to call the original of the type a work by a pupil of Polyclitus rather than by the master himself. Other critics see in the type a close relation to the other three, noting a similarity of feeling and peculiarities of bodily structure common to them all. Adolf Furtwaengler<sup>23</sup> notes several of these peculiarities: the central groove below the navel, the modeling of the knee of the supporting leg with the strongly marked roll of flesh above it. That the type is of Polyclitan origin is very evident from these comparisons. That the original could have been by a pupil, with these characteristics, is not excluded from possibility. But the existence of the large number of copies points to a prominence for the sculptor of the original which is not found in the list of Polyclitus' pupils, extensive though it be.

Of the copies not one of those which attempts to be a faithful reproduction shows the action of the right hand. The Barracco copy (Fig. 8) is most complete in this respect. It has the right arm as far as the wrist, showing that it was raised toward the forehead. The most satisfactory and the most generally accepted interpretation is that the boy was represented as crowning himself with the victor's crown of olive. This seems to be very reasonable, and such action is attested by the bronze Eros of Mahdia,<sup>24</sup> which is an adaptation of the Cyniscus type, and by representations on a number of coins<sup>25</sup> of a figure very similar to our type crowning himself with his right hand. Furthermore on many of the copies the portion of hair above the right ear is unworked, showing that some object, the right hand or the crown (presumably of bronze) met the head there. Furtwaengler attempted the reconstruction in this way (Fig. 6).<sup>26</sup>

The copies in general are Roman, though information about some of them is not available. Two certainly, and perhaps another, are Greek. There are three copies which are fairly complete and which attempt to reproduce the original statue; a number of more complete statues exist which are only adaptations; their motifs are various, differing from that of the Westmacott Athlete. The Westmacott copy is considered to be the best, possibly a little too mechanical in its translation of the bronze original into marble.

In a copy found at Castelfandolfo (Fig. 9) in Italy in 1933<sup>27</sup> one finds a fairly close relative of the Westmacott Athlete. It is just as complete, with only the right arm and left hand missing. The hair on the right side has a *puntello* which shows that the right hand touched the head or wreath there. The character of the treatment of the hair is quite comparable to that of the Westmacott Athlete. There is the same interpretation of bronze technique, flat, with clearly marked strands. The details of the body seem in general to be

21. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 55: *idem et doryphorum viriliter puerum fecit quem canona artifices vocant liniamenta artis ex eo petentes veluti a lege quadam, solusque hominum artem ipsam fecisse artis opere judicatur.* Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, p. 211 says: "Like many artists of progressive periods (Dürer and Leonardo are instances), he endeavoured to work out an ideal scheme of proportions for the human body, and embodied his results, expressed in terms of so many fingers and palms (i.e., the breadth of the hand at the base of the fingers), in a book and a statue, both called

his Canon. Thus the foot measured 3 palms, the lower leg 6, the thigh 6, the space from navel to ear 6; the foot was as long as one-sixth of the total height, the face one-tenth, the head one-seventh."

22. *J.H.S.*, XXXI (1911), pp. 21 ff.

23. *Masterpieces*, p. 252, following Michaelis.

24. *Arch. Anz.*, XXIV (1909), p. 207, fig. 4.

25. *J.R.S.*, XIII (1923), p. 108, pl. VI, 15.

26. *Masterpieces*, p. 250, fig. 102.

27. *A.J.A.*, XXXVII (1933), pl. LVII, p. 505; also *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII (1933), p. 592, fig. 4.

a little less heavily defined, and the roll of flesh above the knee, so apparent in the Westmacott Athlete, does not appear so prominently. There are certain much more striking differences. The supporting tree trunk<sup>2</sup> is set further back and is of a different variety of tree from the Westmacott Athlete's palm which was perhaps symbolic of victory. A very fundamental difference is in the stance of the figure. The Castelvandolfo figure leans much more to its left than does the Westmacott Athlete. This is clearly shown by the application of the line from the clavicles to the left anklebone, which falls much to the left in the Castelvandolfo figure. This may mean a further removal from the bronze original than the Westmacott copy. In any case the finding of the figure on the site of the emperor Domitian's villa near the Alban Lake, where it formed part of the imperial collections, demonstrates a certain importance for the original. Figures 7 and 11 show how similar is the Walters torso.

The third copy (Fig. 8), rather careless, is that in the Barracco collection in Rome,<sup>28</sup> already mentioned. It is the statue of a rather soft and round youngster, definitely different in its effect upon us from the other two. The Argive severity, which Polyclitus is thought to have had as an Argive sculptor and which we may see perhaps in the Westmacott Athlete and in the copies of the other three recognized works of Polyclitus, is not at all pronounced. The rather abrupt and heavy outlines seen in the Westmacott Athlete, especially in the outlines of the abdomen, and the dividing line between it and the hip, are modified out of existence.

The copy or adaptation which very definitely gives us our nearest approach in time and place to the original statue is that found at the sanctuary in Eleusis<sup>29</sup> in 1882 (Fig. 10). It is conceded to be an Attic original work of the fourth century B. C. It is badly battered, with only the head, the torso, and part of the right leg surviving. But one cannot fail to feel that this adaptation is superior to the Roman copies. Furtwaengler<sup>30</sup> thought that it might possibly represent Triptolemus, the hero of the Eleusinian mysteries, arguing from its provenance and the soft expression of the face. There is certainly reflected in it the influence of the Attic fourth century preference for the softer and more graceful forms. Its charming and dreamy character and definite personality are in decided contrast to the Roman copies, so much so that some would deny that the Eleusis boy is a copy of the Cyniscus.

In the Hermitage of Leningrad is a torso of Italian marble,<sup>31</sup> which is one of several not included in previous lists of copies. According to the late Professor Waldhauer it is not to be regarded as a replica of the Westmacott Athlete as is the Hermitage head which we will examine later, but rather as a free variant of the original. It is easily apparent that the method of construction of this statue differs from the others. It was made in sections which were subsequently joined together. The holes for the joining of the head to the body and of the legs to the thigh, the very regular breaks at these points, make this clear.

A torso in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin<sup>32</sup> shows in some aspects competent treatment. The front seems perhaps to be worked not too carefully or thoughtfully, but the back has definite suppleness and slender strength. Something of the "distinguished beauty," as

28. Bocconi, *The Barracco Collection*, pl. 32; *J.H.S.*, XXXI (1911), pl. II.

29. 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1890, pls. X-XI; Semni Papaspyridi, *Guide du Musée National d'Athènes*, p. 89, no. 254; Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*,<sup>2</sup> pl. 51; *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), col. 591.

30. *Op. cit.*, p. 255, n. 2.

31. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, 1931, II, no. 91, pl. VII. The Volo torso is like this. The Hermitage torso will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming volume by Puschnikoff.

32. Blümel, *Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, p. 20, pl. 37, K 152.



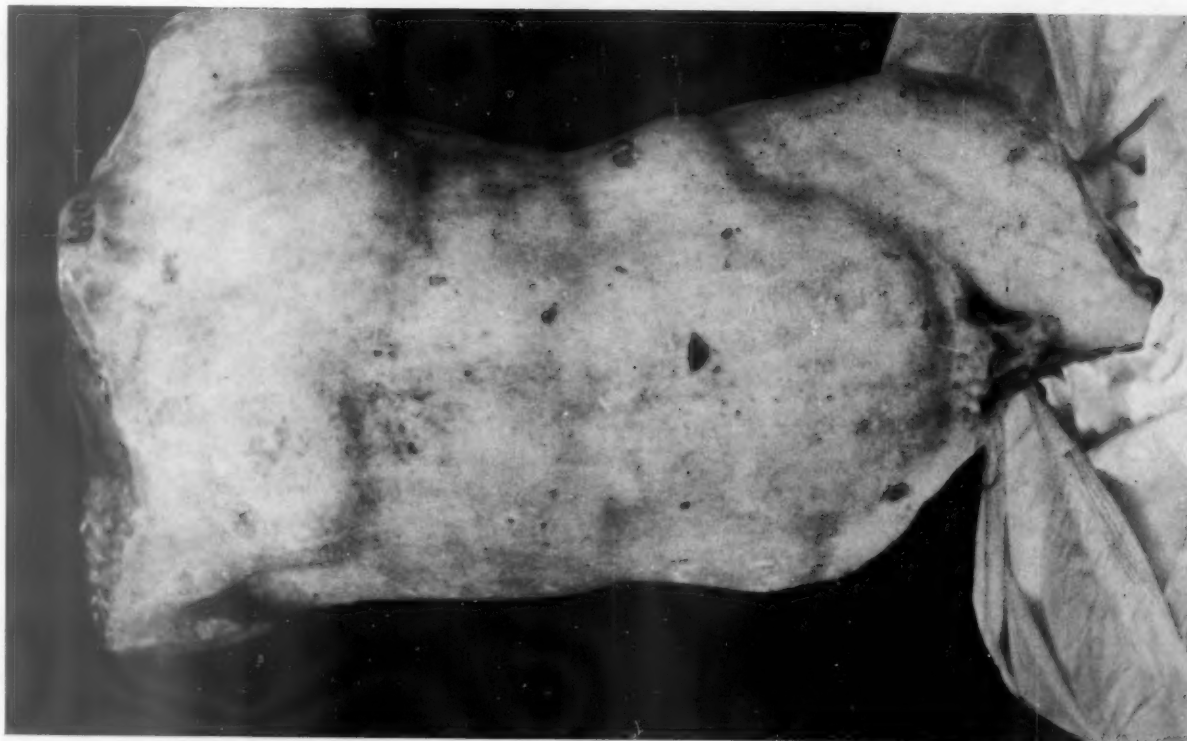


FIG. 5—*Volo, Thessaly, Museum: Greek Copy  
of the Cyniscus of Polyclitus*

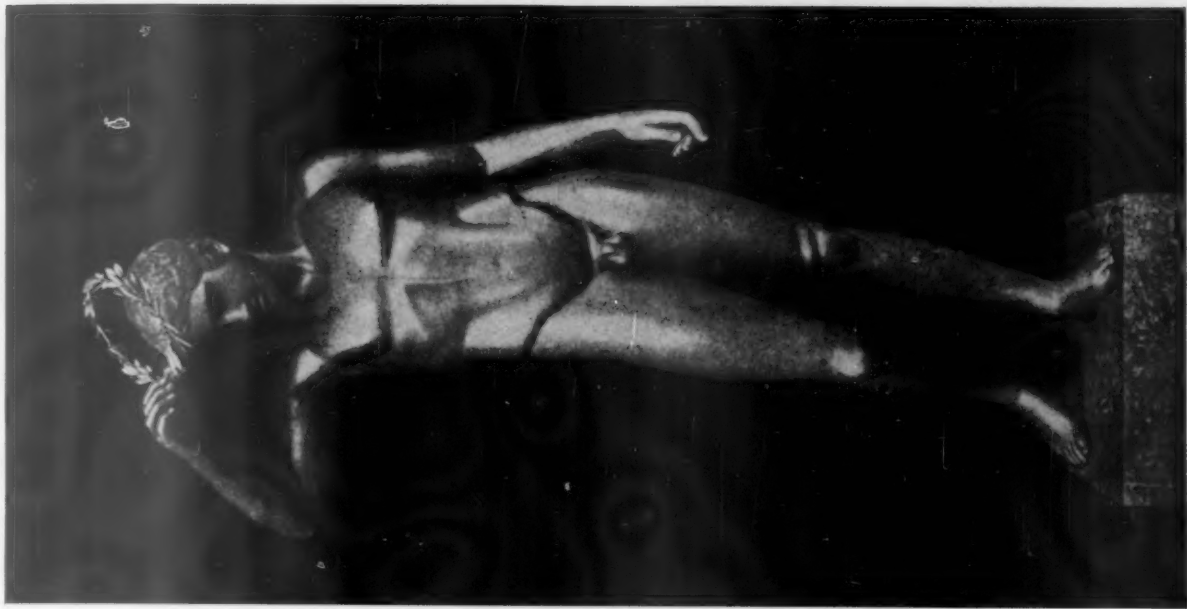


FIG. 6—*Munich, Royal Museum of Casts of  
Classical Statues: Plaster Reconstruction  
of the Cyniscus of Polyclitus*



FIG. 7—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery:  
Roman Copy of the Cyniscus of Polyclitus



FIG. 8—Rome, Barracco Collection: Roman  
Copy of the Cyniscus of Polyclitus



FIG. 9—Rome, Museo delle Terme:  
Roman Copy of the Cyniscus of Polyclitus,  
Found at Castelgandolfo

Furtwaengler puts it, of the back of the Westmacott Athlete,<sup>33</sup> which is also to be seen in the Walters copy, is here, though the shoulder bones of the back do not stand out quite so prominently. There is the same pleasing variety in the presentation of corresponding muscles on both sides of the back, and the figure has definite liveness and lightness.

In Rome in the Grottoni Nusiner al Palatino is a torso<sup>34</sup> which is a good contrast to the preceding torso. It is an extremely wooden copy, distinctly lacking in grace. The transition from the hips to the upper part of the body is much too abrupt. The characteristic hollows on each side of the spine at the small of the back, which are so evident in the Walters torso, are also present in this copy.

As to separate heads, that in the Hermitage<sup>35</sup> at Leningrad has been considered by Furtwaengler to be the best. It is a replica of that of the Westmacott Athlete,<sup>36</sup> as is proved by the correspondence in scale, the vigorous turn of the head, and the similarity in the hair, which matches the Westmacott copy strand for strand.<sup>37</sup> The treatment of the hair corresponds so closely to that of the Doryphorus that he would date the original quite near the time of the Doryphorus. In any case it seems to be clear that the Hermitage and Westmacott copies were made from the same original bronze, the Hermitage head being nearer in spirit.

Waldhauer<sup>38</sup> refers to a relief in Nice which shows a youth crowning himself, perhaps an adaptation of the Cyniscus.

Perhaps the head found at Apollonia in Epirus,<sup>39</sup> now in the British Museum, one of the few Greek copies, and dated at the end of the fifth century or in the early fourth century B. C., is not so close a copy as the Hermitage and Westmacott copies. Allowance must be made for a freer play of imagination on the part of the copyist, who created a head with more spirit, strength, and individuality. The treatment of the hair is markedly different, perhaps to the discredit of the Apollonia head. This is clearly shown by a comparison of the cast made from the head of the Westmacott Athlete to supply the missing part of the head of the Apollonia copy and the portion of the hair which is original to the Apollonia head. As a head very near in date to the Eleusis boy, it is particularly interesting. The Apollonia head is much more mature, but we must keep in mind Pliny's description of the Doryphorus and Diadumenus, calling the one "a man yet a boy" and the other "a boy yet a man" or rather "soft yet a youth" (*viriliter puerum, molliter juvenem*).

The beautiful Sir Edgar Vincent head,<sup>40</sup> formerly in the Van Branteghem collection, then in Rome, and now in the possession of Viscountess D'Abernon in England, shows the unworked portion of the hair on the right side of the head (Figs. 12-15). A larger portion of it is unworked than is usual in other copies. Furtwaengler thought that its simplicity and severity argued for a close connection with the original, since these qualities are in accord with the general feeling of the Argive school of sculpture. The gentle undulating planes of the cheeks, the dimpled chin, the sharp-cut eyelids, and the crisp curls all point to Polyclitus. See Appendix no. 25.

The Museo delle Terme in Rome<sup>41</sup> has a fragment of a head (appendix no. 31). The reproduction in the *Monumenti Antichi* is not entirely helpful, but it does show the characteristic long wisp of hair in front of the ear, quite sharply and clearly worked out. The

33. *Masterpieces*, p. 253, fig. 105.

34. Cf. *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), col. 594, fig. 33.

35. Waldhauer, *op. cit.*, pls. 12-13, no. 99.

36. *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), col. 674, fig. 62.

37. Cf. Furtwaengler, *Masterpieces*, p. 251, n. 6.

38. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

39. *J.H.S.*, XXXI (1911), p. 22.

40. Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, p. 251; *Arch. Anz.*, VII (1892), p. 99, no. 2200.

41. *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), col. 595, fig. 34.



mouth is rather set and determined, reminding one of certain purely Roman portrait heads. Its direct, aggressive quality is well brought out by contrast with another head, also in Rome, in the Lateran,<sup>42</sup> which has the rather stock-in-trade effect. The treatment of the hair on this copy is only cursory.

A head in the Albertinum at Dresden<sup>43</sup> is fairly competent but insensitive work. The spirit of the face is distinctly one of dullness and almost of sulky disappointment. That the wreath was indicated in this copy is shown by the unworked hair on the right side of the head. The same portion of unworked hair is visible in the copy in the museum at Cassel.<sup>44</sup> Otherwise it has little to offer by way of supplement or contrast to other copies. The hair shows an attempt to follow bronze technique which is not very successful. The effect, on the whole, is lifeless and dull. The expression of the mouth has a suggestion of surliness in it and is a little heavy.

The Rieti head<sup>45</sup> may be of a better grade than the other heads, but the photograph reproduced by Mahler apparently was taken from a bad position. The hair seems comparable to that of the Westmacott Athlete, but the eye is extraordinarily long and the general feeling is one of apathy.

A head in the Ny Carlsberg museum in Copenhagen<sup>46</sup> has been placed on the wrong torso, but it is a replica of the head of the Westmacott Athlete. There might be doubt about the Nelson head, now in Boston, which Hyde<sup>47</sup> calls "a remote variant." The position of the head is similar, but the face is more mature and rather heavy. It recalls only vaguely the Doryphorus, but the treatment of the hair is very different and does not suggest bronze technique. It recalls the hair of the Ludovisi Ares, which is a fourth century type. It may even be a mechanical reproduction in marble of the technique of a terra-cotta model.

A complete statue in the Giardini del Quirinale<sup>48</sup> is adapted to a different purpose from the original. It represents Apollo, to judge from the evidence of the lyre on which the right elbow rests. Drapery is added around the waist; and the complete right hand is placed in an artificial position against the head, but according to Anti this is a modern repair. So we may still maintain that the Barracco copy is the most complete in this respect.

In a complete statue in Berlin<sup>49</sup> we come to a more distressing adaptation, Cyniscus as Dionysus. There are more drastic changes. His arm is further raised to encircle his head and carries a bunch of grapes. His head is modified to represent the effeminate Bacchus and drapery added to occupy his right hand and to serve to cover a support. The lines of the body are distinctly softened and, though the work seems intelligent enough in technique in general, it is slightly off balance.

Three torsos can be considered together, one in Dresden,<sup>50</sup> one apparently in the Louvre,<sup>51</sup> and one in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek<sup>52</sup> in Copenhagen. They are very similar adaptations. They all wear long cloaks slung over their shoulders. They exhibit varying

42. *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), col. 598, figs. 35-36.

43. *Arch. Anz.*, XV (1900), p. 107.

44. Bieber, *Antike Skulpturen und Bronzen in Cassel*, pl. 15, no. 8.

45. Mahler, *Polyclète*, p. 48.

46. Cf. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *Antike Kunstwaerker*, 1907, no. 356.

47. Cf. Hyde, *op. cit.*, p. 157; Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 544; Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*,

pp. 144-146; Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, p. 148, thinks it is a Greco-Roman eclectic work influenced by Scopas as well as by Polyclitus.

48. *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), col. 599, fig. 37.

49. Blümel, *op. cit.*, p. 29, K 153, pl. 38.

50. Cf. Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, 1912, p. 86, fig. 46.

51. *Ibid.*, fig. 47.

52. *Antike Kunstwaerker*, no. 397.

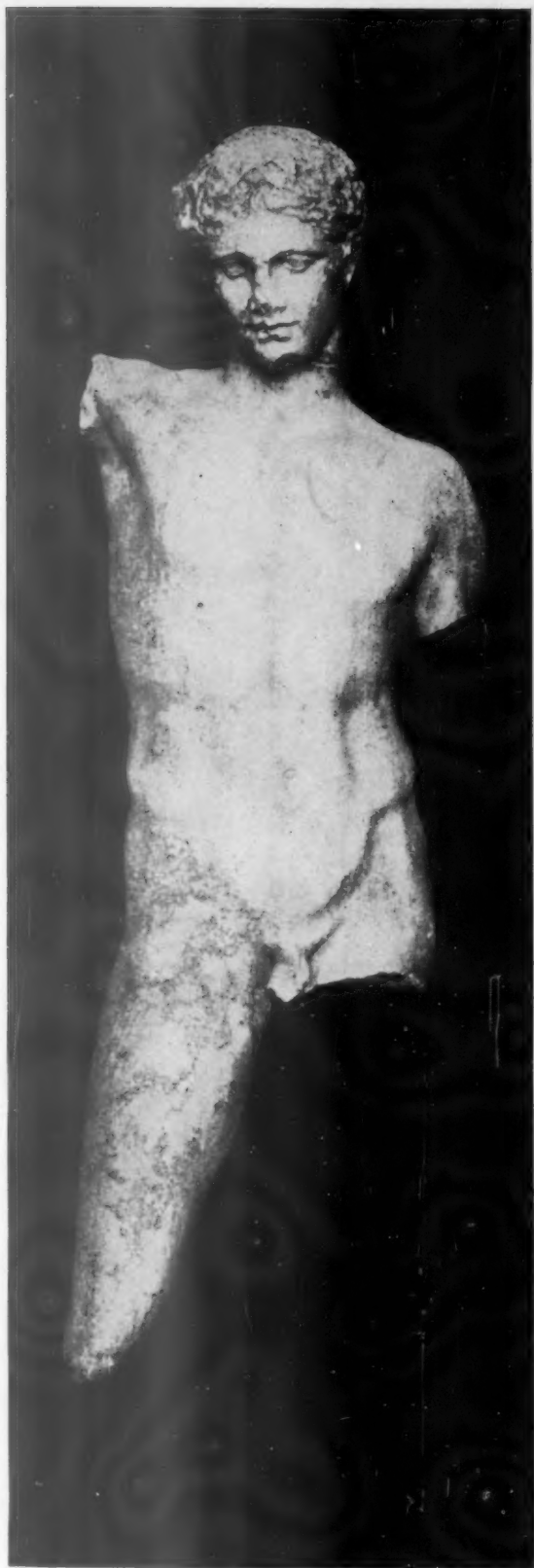


FIG. 10—*Athens, National Museum: Greek  
Adaptation of the Cyniscus of Polyclitus*



FIG. 11—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Roman  
Copy of the Cyniscus of Polyclitus*





FIG. 12



FIG. 13



FIG. 14



FIG. 15

*England, Head in the Possession of Lady D'Abernon at Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey*

degrees of softness in treatment and modification of the originally heavy outlines. It is conjectured from the appearance of a hand on the right thigh of the Copenhagen copy that these formed parts of groups similar to that<sup>53</sup> illustrated in the text descriptive of the Copenhagen copy. Perhaps Paris and Eros were thus represented as in the relief cited.

Three more adaptations, possibly four, are to be seen in Rome.<sup>54</sup> They represent Hermes, Dionysus, and one that is either Adonis or Meleager. In the *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, XLVIII (1933), col. 611, fig. 14, has recently been published a statue in Polyclitan style, found on the Via dell' Impero in Rome, adapted from the Cyniscus type but representing a winged Icarus.

One or two other torsos,<sup>55</sup> of which photographs are lacking, are also to be seen in Rome, but it is safe to say that the type could be used by the Romans for other purposes than to represent an athlete crowning himself. The marble copies undoubtedly vary from the original bronze and that makes it all the more unfortunate that no good photograph of the one bronze adaptation in Istanbul has been published.<sup>56</sup> This is a tall bronze which may have been influenced by the Cyniscus type, but it is more slender and taller (1.69 m. without the head) and probably Hellenistic in date. It has the same general attitude and has the right hand raised toward the head. The evidence of the copies, then, gives us some slight knowledge of the original, which surely was the work of Polyclitus. We have seen to what heights his original conception rose in the Eleusis adaptation and in the Apollonia head, which are works by good sculptors; also how inferior are the Roman copies, among which that in the Walters Art Gallery must rank as one of the best.

There are not many copies of statues of Polyclitus in America. In the Metropolitan Museum is now the famous Lansdowne Amazon, a Roman copy of a Greek bronze statue attributed to Polyclitus (440-430 B. C.);<sup>57</sup> the right arm is again raised, but far over the head. The same museum also has a terra-cotta statuette which is a copy of the Diadumenus (ca. 425 B. C.)<sup>58</sup> and a good Roman marble copy (ca. 150 A. D.) of the Diadumenus,<sup>59</sup> the latter famous for its price of 100 talents (about \$125,000 in Roman or late Greek times).<sup>60</sup> At Wellesley College is a copy of the Discus-thrower of Polyclitus and in the Metropolitan Museum a copy of the head of the same.<sup>61</sup> In Boston there are some Polyclitan heads or torsos.<sup>62</sup> Nowhere in America is there a copy of the Doryphorus, but it is interesting to have in Baltimore a copy of a fourth great work of Polyclitus, probably earlier in date than the Doryphorus (450-440 B. C.)<sup>63</sup> and preceding the Amazon by ten years or more, and the softer Diadumenus, with its freer pose and greater animation, by some twenty-five years. The Cyniscus, even if sculptured as late as 445 or 440 B. C. could perhaps celebrate a victory of 460 B. C. (when possibly Cyniscus won his boxing match) or a victory of 448-

53. Arndt, *op. cit.*, p. 87, fig. 48.

54. Museo delle Terme; Museo Torlonia, nos. 37 and 22; Villa Albani, no. 46.

55. Museo Torlonia, no. 59; Villa Albani, no. 222.

56. Cf. *Gazette archéologique*, VIII (1883), pl. 2; Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, II, p. 548, 4. Hamdy Bey in Musée Imperial Ottoman, *Bronzes et Bijoux*, 1898, says (p. 1, no. 1) that it was found at Tarsus and considers "cette statue d'un style très soigné comme une réplique grecque" of the Cyniscus of Polyclitus.

57. Cf. *Bull. Met. Mus.*, XXVIII (1933), pp. 2-5.

58. Cf. *Bull. Met. Mus.*, XXVII (1932), pp. 250-252.

59. Cf. Miss Richter, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), pp. 46-52, pls. XII-XV.

60. Cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXIV, 55.

61. Cf. Blümel, *Der Diskosträger Polyklet* (90th Winkelmannsprogramm der arch. Ges. zu Berlin), 1930, p. 21, no. 4; p. 25, no. 16, Beilage 1 and 4.

62. Cf. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, nos. 68 (head of Hermes), 69 (nude male torso unidentified), 70 (statue of Hermes), 101 (triangular pedestal with three Polyclitan figures).

63. The latest monograph I have seen on the Doryphorus is by Paul Wolters in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XI (1934), entitled *Polyklet's Doryphoros in der Ehrenhalle der Münchner Universität*, pp. 1-25, with a bronze reconstruction by Georg Römer.

445 B. C. In any case Baltimore has a statue of brilliant quality, which is a copy of a work by one of Greece's greatest sculptors, Polyclitus, who was born perhaps as early as 486 B. C.; he created a canon of art and wrote a book on the subject in which he published two famous sayings: "the successful attainment of art is the result of minute accuracy in a multitude of arithmetical proportions" and "the work is most difficult when the clay comes to the nail." To the original bronze might well be applied the words of Percy Gardner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXI (1919), pp. 77-78:

"We can now well understand how a full length figure produced by the very fine and delicate method called the 'lost wax' process . . . would be a work of the most remarkable and fascinating beauty. The Greeks appreciated the points of a body in a way that we do not readily understand. Plato (*Critias*, at beginning) observes that when a painter has to represent a landscape, mountain, wood or river, he is content merely to make suggestions. 'Since,' he observes, 'we have no accurate knowledge of such things, we do not closely examine or criticize the paintings; we are content in such a case with a vague and delusive rendering. But when the artist tries to represent our bodies, we keenly perceive the defects, and, in virtue of our constant close observation, become severe critics of one who does not render in all respects an accurate likeness.' Plato is of course not merely speaking of the face of a man, but of his whole body; and if we remember this we shall realise how contrary the Greek point of view is to that usual in modern days. We look very carefully at all the features of nature; but of our own bodies we know but little; we are generally disposed to be ashamed of them. Of the points of beauty and ugliness in dogs and horses we have a far more definite notion than in the case of human beings. Of course we shall never go back altogether to the Greek point of view; yet it would be no bad thing if we could learn in the school of Polycleitus to appreciate more fully the beauty of the well-trained male body."

## APPENDIX

### ANCIENT COPIES OR FREE ADAPTATIONS OF THE CYNISCUS OF POLYCLITUS

I give here a fuller list of copies than Mahler and Anti hitherto have published, increasing the number from 22 to 35:

#### STATUES

1. London, British Museum: Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, pp. 107-108, no. 1754; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Westmacott Athlete*, pl. 46; back, Furtwaengler, *Masterpieces*, p. 253, fig. 105; *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), col. 674, fig. 62; Smith, *Marbles and Bronzes in the British Museum*, 1914, pl. 22. Fig. 2 in our text.
2. Rome, Museo Barracco: Helbig, *Collection Barracco*, pp. 36 ff., 61 ff., pls. 38, 38 a; Settimo Bocconi, *The Barracco Collection*, 1928, p. 16, pl. 32, no. 99; Helbig, *Führer durch die Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, I, pp. 609-611, no. 1083. Fig. 8 in our text.
3. Rome, Giardini del Quirinale: *Monumenti Antichi*, XXVI (1920), cols. 599-600, fig. 37; Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, no. 210.
4. Rome, Museo delle Terme. From Castelgandolfo: *A.J.A.*, XXXVII (1933), pl. LVII; *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII (1933), p. 592, fig. 4. Fig. 7 in our text.

#### TORSOS

5. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Figs. 1, 3, 4, 7, 11 in our text.
6. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. 514: Blümel, *Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des 5ten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, pl. 37.
7. Berlin, *op. cit.*, pl. 38.
8. Copenhagen, Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg, no. 397: *Antike Kunstvaerker*, pl. 27.
9. Copenhagen, Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg, no. 356: torso, *Antike Kunstvaerker*, pl. 24.
10. Dresden, Albertinum, no. 519: Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, texte, p. 86.
11. Leningrad, Hermitage: Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, no. 91.
12. Paris, Louvre: Arndt, *ibid.*
13. Rome, statuette, Museo delle Terme (as Hermes): Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano*, 1920, p. 156, no. 493; Helbig, *Führer*, II, p. 161, no. 1371; Anderson photo. 2039.



14. Rome, Grottoni Nusiner al Palatino: *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), cols. 593-4, fig. 33 (Pentelic marble).
15. Rome, Museo Torlonia, no. 59.
16. Rome, Museo Torlonia, no. 37: adaptation (Furtwaengler, *Masterpieces*, p. 255).
17. Rome, Museo Torlonia, no. 22; adaptation (Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, p. 255).
18. Rome, Villa Albani, no. 46: as Adonis or Meleager.
19. Rome, Villa Albani, no. 222. Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
20. Volo in Thessaly. Inv. no. 418. Fig. 5 in our text. Cf. above, p. 134.

## HEADS

21. Boston, Nelson head: *J.H.S.*, XVIII (1898), pp. 141 ff., pl. XI; Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, no. 544; Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in Boston*, no. 71. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, p. 157 calls it "a remote variant."
22. Cassel Museum: *Arch. Anz.*, XXIX (1914), fig. 12, p. 26; Bieber, *Antike Skulpturen und Bronzen in Cassel*, pl. 15, no. 8.
23. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg, no. 356; Arndt, *Antike Kunstvaerker*, pl. 24, p. 86 and pl. 55; *Antike Kunstvaerker*, pl. 24.
24. Dresden, Albertinum: *Arch. Anz.*, XV (1900), p. 107.
25. England, The Manor House, Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey. Head in possession of Viscountess D'Abernon, whose husband is Sir Edgar Vincent, formerly in Rome in the Palazzo Sacchetti and called the Sir Edgar Vincent Head: Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, p. 251, fig. 103; *Arch. Anz.*, VII (1892), p. 99, no. 2200. Found in Rome in 1864. Greatest height in front  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in. Greatest breadth 13 in. Greatest height of right side  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in., greatest breadth  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. Circumference  $22\frac{1}{2}$  in. Measurements and photographs were kindly furnished by Lady D'Abernon. Figs. 12-15 in our text.
26. Leningrad, Hermitage, no. 28: Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, p. 455, fig. 74; Waldhauer, *op. cit.*, no. 99, pl. 12.
27. London, British Museum: *J.H.S.*, XXXI (1911), pp. 21-30, also pls. I-II; XXIX (1909), p. 151 (from Apollonia in Epirus).
28. London, Soane Museum; cf. *Berl. Phil. Woch.* (1902), p. 273.
29. Rieti, Mahler, *Polyklète*, p. 48.
30. Rome, Lateran, no. 498: *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), cols. 597-598, figs. 35-36.
31. Rome, Museo delle Terme, no. 4208: *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI (1920), cols. 595-596, fig. 34; *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII (1893), p. 95, n. 4.
32. Rome, Museo Torlonia, no. 474.
33. Nice, Musée Municipal, without a number: youth putting crown on his head; unpublished but mentioned by Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, II, no. 99.
34. Athens. Statue from Eleusis, of a somewhat modified type (4th century B. C.); 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1890, pls. X-XI. Fig. 10 in our text.
35. Istanbul, National Museum: *Gazette archéologique*, VIII (1883), pp. 86-90, pl. 2; Brising, *Images classiques*, Stockholm, 1913, p. 297; Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, p. 548, 4; Musée Imperial Ottoman, *Bronzes et Bijoux*, 1898, pp. 1-2, no. 1 (from Tarsus). Probably a Hellenistic variant.

# A COPY OF THE ATHENA PARTHENOS

By DOROTHY KENT HILL

THE fragment here described (Figs. 1 to 5)<sup>1</sup> is the portion from the shoulders to the knees of a draped female figure wearing the aegis. Its height is 0.98m. and its diameter at the waist 0.35m. It was purchased by Mr. Henry Walters as part of the Massarenti Collection in 1902. It was described by Eduard Van Esbroeck in the catalogue of that collection as "Fragment de statue de femme (Art romain), avec belle draperie. Hauteur 1.02."<sup>2</sup> A possible earlier publication of it is that of a torso, much more complete, which was sketched by Stephan Pighius during the sixteenth century (Fig. 9).<sup>3</sup> Although the sketch agrees with our statue in certain remarkable details, it differs so much in more noticeable features, particularly the scaled aegis, that I believe that it is not the same.

The material is a fine-grained white marble.<sup>4</sup> On the greater part of the surface it is white but at the right side of the skirt it is a rich brown. There are root marks on the front. The marble has a tendency to split along gray lines which are nearly vertical and run diagonally through the statue. The left side of the front has been split off along one of these lines. Another break runs parallel to this for the entire length of the fragment; the portion to the right of this break has been broken into many pieces; the breaks have been repaired with a light yellow cement, and the gouges at their ends restored with plaster. Pieces of the drapery at the right have been splintered off, many of them in modern times. Other pieces would break off along gray lines at the lightest blow.

The upper part of the back has split off on a straight line between two dowel holes which were used for the attachment of the arms *and the flesh below the arms and above the edge of the drapery*. The dowels were of iron, rectangular, 0.05m. long and 0.013m. wide, sloping down toward the center from concave cuttings at least 0.05m. deep. A round hole 0.011m. wide and 0.03m. deep runs into the left cutting below the dowel. The dowel

1. Of the many who have kindly assisted me in the study of this statue, I wish to express my special thanks to Professor Margarete Bieber for valuable help at the beginning of the work, and to Professors Valentin Müller and A. J. B. Wace, some of whose original ideas are embodied in this paper. My thanks are also due to Miss Lucy Talcott for arranging for the photographing of the two statues in the Acropolis Museum, Athens, and to Dr. Frederik Poulsen of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek for information about the head in that collection, for the preparation of the cast of that head, and for providing a sample of the original marble. Microscopic analyses of marbles were made by Mr. Roy Allen of Bloomfield, N. J., and Mr. John Marshall of the Johns Hopkins University. The drawings of the reconstruction were made by Mr. George Keester of the Maryland Institute, to whom I am indebted for advice in reconstructing.

2. *Catalogue du Musée de Peinture, Sculpture et Archéologie au Palais Accoramboni, premier étage, Place Rusticucci n. 18, près du Vatican, Rome, Imprimerie du Vatican, 1897, pt. II, p. 149, no. 44.* The difference in height given is in part due to the measure-

ment's being taken following the slant of the skirt, rather than vertically. After the photograph for Fig. 3 had been taken, a small fragment was found and re-attached to the edge of the overhanging part of the peplos. It appears in Figs. 1, 2 and 5.

3. Manuscript in the Staatliche Bibliothek, Berlin (*libr. pict. A 61*). Schreiber, *Die Athena Parthenos des Phidias und ihre Nachbildungen, Abh. d. phil.-hist. Cl., k. Sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, VIII, no. V (1883), pp. 571 f, pl. III; G. Jahn, *Über die Zeichnungen antiker Monumente im Codex Pighianus, in Berichte über die Verhandlungen d. k. Sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, XX (1868), p. 175, 10, f 21 a.

4. The marble was examined microscopically by Mr. Roy Allen, and not found to be Pentelic, when compared with a sample from the quarries of Mount Pentelicon now in use. The sample was "distinctly not a statuary marble; it is a clean grain cleavage free of interlocking or teeth, and free of inclusions of foreign materials." It has not yet been possible to identify the source of the marble.



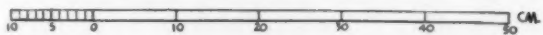


FIG. I—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Copy of Athena Parthenos  
Front, with reconstruction of front, and detail of right breast

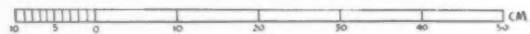


FIG. 2—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Copy of Athena Parthenos  
Side, with reconstruction of side

holes are lower than the breast, and much below what would have been the middle of the cutting.

This method of attaching arms is unusual and mechanically bad. The normal way to attach a part to a statue is to connect two plane smooth surfaces by a dowel perpendicular to them. Setting into a concave cutting is rare. I have found elsewhere only one example of it for so heavy a member as a complete free arm, and no member of such size prepared to be so inset. The one case is a statue of Apollo, recently found in Rome, whose right arm, with a piece of flesh below, was set into a concave cutting and fastened by a rectangular dowel. The left forearm of the same statue is attached in the usual way by connecting two flat surfaces.<sup>5</sup> The balancing of the arms on our statue, as well as their cutting, must have been exceedingly difficult; though probably other dowels above those whose traces remain helped to support the weight of the arms.

The insetting of these blocks must be due to a desire to make the line of division of material coincide with the boundary between flesh and drapery,<sup>6</sup> and this to a desire to imitate a statue in which flesh and drapery were of *two materials*.<sup>7</sup>

The same holds true of the arrangement of the head, which was set into a hole 0.13m. wide at the widest part preserved and 0.14m. deep below the highest part preserved. One might be inclined to think the curls hanging over the breast most unsuitable for a statue with inset head, since the curls would have to be cut across; but, actually, a statue of two materials would have complete curls added after the head was joined to the torso, and inset heads are indeed frequent among copies of the chryselephantine Athena Parthenos of Phidias.<sup>8</sup>

The mere presence of two curls falling over the shoulder onto the aegis is sufficient to identify the statue as a copy of the Athena Parthenos. Further proofs of this identity will

5. Paribeni, *Notizie degli Scavi*, Ser. 6, II (1926), p. 280, pl. V b. On the same plate is an example of the not uncommon attachment of a forearm and part of an upper arm, which is pressed against the body. Cf. similar insetting, with lead binding, of arm and foot in Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VII (1908), Text, pp. 25-26—pronounced unusual at Pergamon, and compared with archaic Acropolis maidens; although attachment by other means is very common at Pergamon. I am unable to explain the technique of the Athena statue in New York, *Bull. Met. Mus.*, XXI (1926), p. 127, fig. 2. The right arm is doweled against a vertical surface, set back from the face of the drapery. The left arm is set into a concave cutting, but the surface below the cutting and above the drapery is vertical, plane, and unmodeled.

6. The same piece is inset, though in a different way, on the Pergamon statue. (See below, note 8, no. 11.)

7. It is possible that the torso was gilded, as was suggested to me by Professor A. J. B. Wace. There is no trace of gilt or preparatory paint. See below, p. 166.

8. The following is a list of all replicas of the torso of the Athena Parthenos, with references to the illustrations used and statement as to parts inset:

(1) Small statue in National Museum, Athens, found near the Varvakeion. Referred to as "Varvakeion statue." Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechische und römische Sculptur*, pls. 39 and 40.

(2) Small unfinished statue in the National Museum, Athens, found near the Pnyx and recognized by Lenormant. Referred to as "Lenormant statue." Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 38.

(3) Small statue found at Patras. Head was inset. Referred to as "Patras statue." *B.S.A.*, III (1896-1897), pl. IX.

(4) Small statue, probably now in the National Museum, Belgrade, found at Bitolj, Yugoslavia. Referred to as "Bitolj statue." *Jb. Arch. I., Arch. Anz.*, XLVII (1932), p. 94.

(5) Small statue, probably in the National Museum, Athens. Found on the west slope of the Acropolis. Referred to as "Statue from the west slope of the Acropolis." *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI (1896), p. 284.

(6) Small statue in Prado, Madrid. Referred to as "Madrid statue." Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 511.

(7) Large statue in the National Museum of the Terme (Boncompagni-Ludovisi Coll.), Rome. Signed by the copyist Antiochos. Head is inset. Referred to as "Statue by Antiochos." Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 253.

(8) Large statue in the Louvre, formerly in the Villa Borghese, Rome. Often called "Minerve au Collier." Head is inset. Referred to as "Louvre statue." Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 512.

(9) Torso of large statue, with shield, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, found on the Esquiline Hill. Head was inset. Referred to as "Conservatori statue." H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, 1926, pl. 37.

(10) Torso of large statue, in the Acropolis Museum, Athens, found near the Propylaea. Referred to as "Propylaea statue." Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, I.

(11) Large statue in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin,



appear in abundance as we proceed with a description and restoration of the statue. The restoration depends upon features which are complete in certain other copies and partially present in this.<sup>9</sup>

The measurements of the statue may be obtained from those of the Varvakeion statue by determining the ratio of the distances between the ends of the locks of hair on the breast and the line of the lowest part of the overhanging part of the peplos (except the points). The distance is 0.295m. on the Varvakeion statue<sup>10</sup> and 0.63m. on ours. The height of the Varvakeion statue from top of crest to top of pedestal is 0.93m.; that of ours should therefore be 1.985m. A certain error may be expected from this computation, for the proportions of the different copies are not standard, and the length of the curls and the length of the overhanging part of the drapery are just such features as the copyist might treat freely. They are, however, the only definite features of our statue preserved at sufficient distance from each other to serve as measuring points. The error could hardly be more than 0.10m.

The dress is the Doric peplos with long overhanging section, girded at the waist.<sup>11</sup> It is made of a rectangular piece of cloth, folded crosswise, with the fold at the top. The fold passes under the left arm and is pulled up from back and front at each shoulder and fastened. The shorter end of the material falls on top of the longer to a height somewhat above the knees. The garment is unbroken at the left; the loose open edges of the sides of the piece of cloth are at the right. The back and front of the peplos, when so adjusted, are broader than the body by an amount slightly less than the distance from shoulder to waist. A fold of material which is the continuation of the cross-fold at shoulder height, therefore falls from the fastening on the right shoulder to slightly above waist level at back and front. From the ends of these folds to the bottom of the overhanging part of the peplos, there are four loose edges, drawn in at the waist by the girdle. Below the bottom of the overhanging part of the peplos there are two loose edges.

The loose edges are all pulled toward the front and held there by the girdle. Therefore, both pairs of free edges which run from the girdle to the ends of the folds hanging from the shoulders, run from front to back. The edges are crinkled. About 0.05m. of the front edges is preserved; another 0.05m. was broken off along with the lower part of the fold at which the two edges would join. The back of the peplos above the waist was tucked under the front. Its two crinkled edges spring out from behind the front section. Again,

found at Pergamon. Arms, with sides down to drapery, and head were inset. Referred to as "Pergamon statue." Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VII (1908), pl. 8, Text, p. 34, fig. 24a.

(12) Torso in Villa Borghese, Rome. Head and arms were inset, the left arm supported by a bronze peg from the side. Referred to as "Borghese statue." Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, H.

(13) Large statue in Villa Wolkonsky, Rome. Referred to as "Wolkonsky statue." Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pl. III, D (without restorations, including head).

(14) Statue drawn by Pighius. Head probably was inset. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, pl. III, G. See above, p. 150 and note 3. Fig. 9.

(15) Torso formerly in the Somzée Collection, Brussels, and then, according to Reinach, in the Warocqué Collection. Head probably was inset. Furtwaengler, *Collection Somzée*, 1899, pl. XII. *Sammlung Somzée*, 1897, pl. IX. 12.

All of these except the Bitolj statue are illustrated in

S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*.

The following are probably replicas:

(16) Fragment of colossal statue, found in the temple of Athena at Notion. Head was inset. *B.C.H.*, XLIX (1925), p. 323, fig. 1.

(17) Fragments of arm, hand and foot, and wings of Nike, of acrolithic statue, found in the temple of Athena Polias at Priene. Head, as well as arms and legs, must have been inset. *Antiquities of Ionia*, IV (1881), p. 31 (foot only).

9. On the drawings, a heavy black line has been used for all parts of the fragment preserved, whether or not the edge of the particular part is preserved; a lighter line has been used for all parts beyond the limits of the block.

10. Measured on casts in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

11. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, 1928, p. 35, pl. IV.

the fold at which they would join is broken away. It must have fallen straight from the shoulder. The girdle is cut all the way around the right side; the peplos did not hang over it.

Below the girdle the four loose edges fall separately. Each of the four sections is folded, the front two toward the front, the back two toward the back; between the fold and the folded boundary of the next section, the edge bends and curves. Nowhere does one section cover the edge or the folded portion of the next section. This feature is shared only by the Wolkonsky statue.<sup>12</sup> On all the other copies, one edge is concealed by another.

Although only one small strip of crinkled edge is preserved at the top of the back long edge below the girdle, enough of each wave of the four edges remains to make the reconstruction as given certain. The edges had many twists, loops and auxiliary folds; the twists would have made the design of the lower part, of which we have drawn only the main curves, as beautiful as that of the upper part. The treatment of these edges is most like that of the statue by Antiochos.

The pattern formed is, with certain individualities, the "rhomboid scheme" as distinguished by Noack<sup>13</sup> from the "parallel scheme." Noack believed that the rhomboid system was an interloper, the parallel system that belonging to the Parthenos; and that the truest copying of the Parthenos system was on the Louvre statue, on which the parallelism is most regular, the overhanging sections are folded with the long sections, and the whole is exactly like the system of the Lemnian Athena. Our copy and the Bitolj copy, both of which were unknown when Noack wrote, will align the majority of votes for the rhomboid system, and show that the parallel system was grafted on by copyists, while the Louvre statue borrowed directly from the Lemnian Athena, and the Varvakeion and Madrid statues borrowed freely from this or another statue.<sup>14</sup>

The problem of the design of the right side of the figure, first stated by Noack, becomes more complicated when we consider the design formed by not two, but four edges. The possible designs are many, and all of them good. Four edges distinct to the very top, forming a triple rhomboid pattern, are to be found on the Wolkonsky copy of the Parthenos, and on an Athena of later type in the Palazzo dei Conservatori;<sup>15</sup> ours differs from these in having the back edge run parallel to its neighbor. Of statues which keep the four edges clear, or nearly so, but have a parallel scheme, I know of four: a statuette in the Meissner Collection;<sup>16</sup> the Athena with the crossed aegis, from Pergamon;<sup>17</sup> probably the leaning Athena in the Acropolis Museum, so broken that we may not claim it positively as an example (Fig. 8),<sup>18</sup> and the so-called Artemis from Ariccia.<sup>19</sup> The great majority of copies of the Athena Parthenos and other figures similarly dressed (they are not many and chiefly Athena statues) show three edges and conceal a fourth behind the back or front of the overhanging part of the peplos; and on the majority even of those mentioned, one of

12. Noack, *Ein Gewandmotiv der Parthenos*, in *Jb. Arch. I.*, XLV (1930), p. 204, fig. 4. Side views of other copies in preceding and succeeding figures. Side views of Pergamon statue, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VII, Text, p. 34, fig. 24a. The drawing given in Noack, *op. cit.*, p. 205, fig. 5 as of the Conservatori statue is of the Athena of later type in the Conservatori. Cf. *B. Com. Rom.*, XI (1883), pl. XV, and H. Stuart Jones, *loc. cit.*, where the two statues are shown side by side.

13. Noack, *op. cit.*

14. Schrader, on the Bitolj copy, *Jb. Arch. I.*, *Arch. Anz.*, XLVII (1932), p. 96.

15. See above, note 12.

16. Valentin Müller, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), pp. 248-253, pl. XXVIII. I am indebted to Professor Müller for allowing me to see a photograph of the right side of this statuette and for bringing to my attention the connection of the leaning Athena and Acropolis 1336 with our statue.

17. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VII (1908), pp. 13-25, pl. II-V.

18. Praschniker, *Antike Plastik. W. Amelung zum 60. Geburtstag*, 1928, pp. 176-181.

19. *Jb. Arch. I.*, 37 (1922), pl. 4.

the back edges is pulled over the front edges at the top. An exception is the Athena statue, Acropolis 1336 (Fig. 6) which turns the two long edges of the peplos inward, concealing their curves, and, as a result, leaves a wide open space between the back and front of the peplos. Since examples of the girt peplos with long overhanging section are rare and photographs of the sides of such figures still rarer, it is hardly legitimate to generalize about the decorative motive. We may, however, observe that four distinct edges, each taking part in the pattern, are more suitable on a statue which is thick from front to back than on a paper-doll figure, and that they may be of sculptural value to a figure in twisted position, such as the Athena with the crossed aegis. And we may at least note that all the statues which we have found having this motive, except the Meissner statuette, are of late date.

The corners of the ends of the overhanging of the peplos hang low in front, not quite so low in back. Below the broken end of the front corner is a strut which probably supported a ball. It may have supported merely the corner, which would in this case be very deeply and thoroughly undercut. There is no trace of a ball's having been at the end of the back corner. The edge of the overhanging part is nearly level across the front, left side and back; although the front is broken off, the side-back is preserved far enough around to show that the drapery did not droop at the side. In this respect our statue agrees with the majority of the replicas; the droop of the drapery is decided only on the Varvakeion statue and on the statue by Antiochos; and only on the Varvakeion does the left side fall lower than the points at the right.<sup>20</sup> The edge rises slightly for each of the irregular box plaits<sup>21</sup> which characterize the overhanging part of the peplos, and sinks at each depression between them. It is crinkled all the way across the back, and must have been crinkled across the front. This crinkling is to be seen on Pighius' drawing of the lost statue, and was ascribed by Schreiber to his error.<sup>22</sup> It may quite well have existed on the statue which he was sketching, but hardly on the original of Phidias. To put the crinkling, which is due to the stretching during weaving of the edges of the piece of cloth, at its cut ends is a frequent mistake of copyists. It never occurs on originals.<sup>23</sup>

The requirements of the type for the lower front drapery are: a fold falling outside the right foot, between it and the edge of the peplos; a broad box plait falling to the top of the right foot; a broad box plait falling to the left of the right foot and to the right of the left knee; and a box plait falling from the bent left knee. The two long box plaits, but not that falling from the left knee, may be split in two at the top or throughout their length. On our fragment we have one box plait. Two thin folds immediately to the left of this which stand out diagonally, spreading from each other, may be the top of a second box plait, split at the top but running as one from a point below the break. To make these box plaits fall one on top of the right foot, one inside the right foot, while the right ankle bone is below the neck of the figure, we must give the folds a swing to the left as they approach the floor. They are, one may notice, slanting at the point where the fragment stops. The swing of the fold is duplicated on the statue drawn by Pighius; the effect of his folds is slightly different because both of the box plaits are split at the top. The box plait falling from the left knee is easily imagined; and we have the fold outside the right leg.

20. Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 f. points out that the droop spoils the architectonic character of the statue.

21. "Box plait" is the only expression which I have borrowed from American dressmaking terminology. It

means the whole mass of material left exposed when adjacent underfolds face each other.

22. *Op. cit.*, p. 572.

23. As was pointed out to me by Professor Bieber.



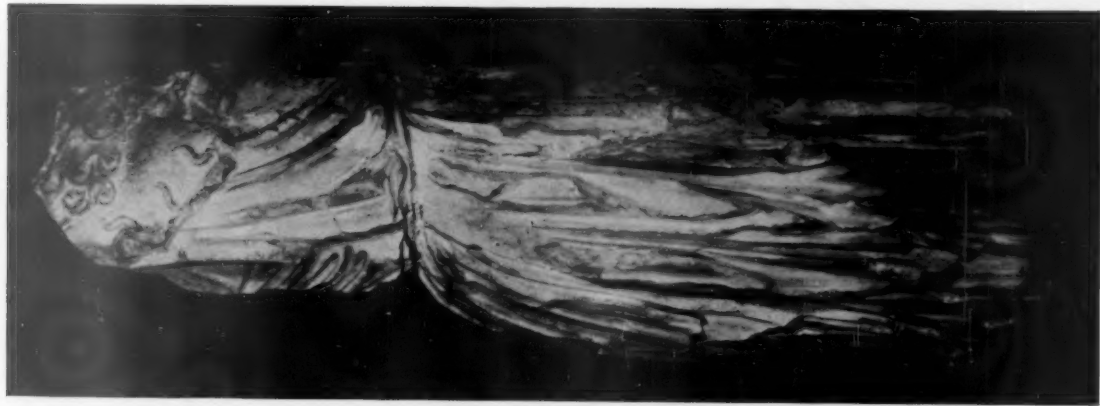


FIG. 3—Side (toward Front)

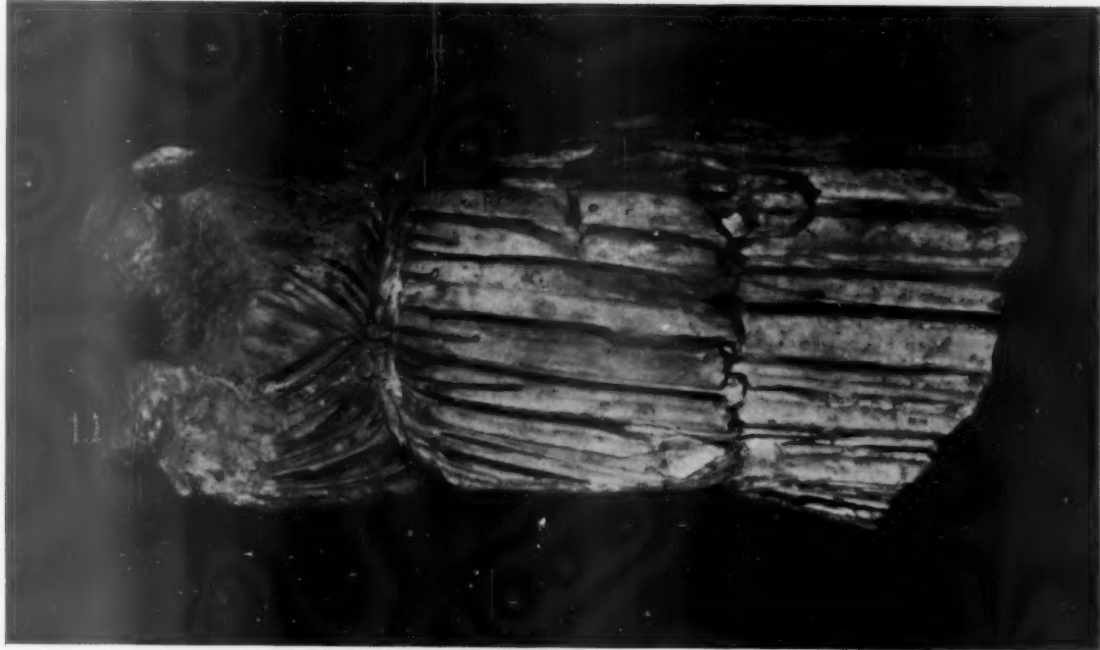


FIG. 4—Back



FIG. 5—Front with Cast of Copenhagen Head

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Copy of Athena Parthenos



FIG. 6—Athens, Acropolis Museum:  
Statue of Athena (No. 1336)

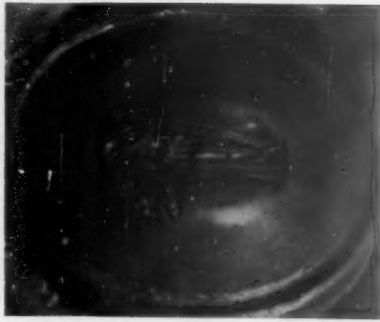


FIG. 7—Baltimore, Walters Art  
Gallery: Impression of Intaglio  
with Athena Parthenos, Enlarged  
(See Note 43, p. 167)

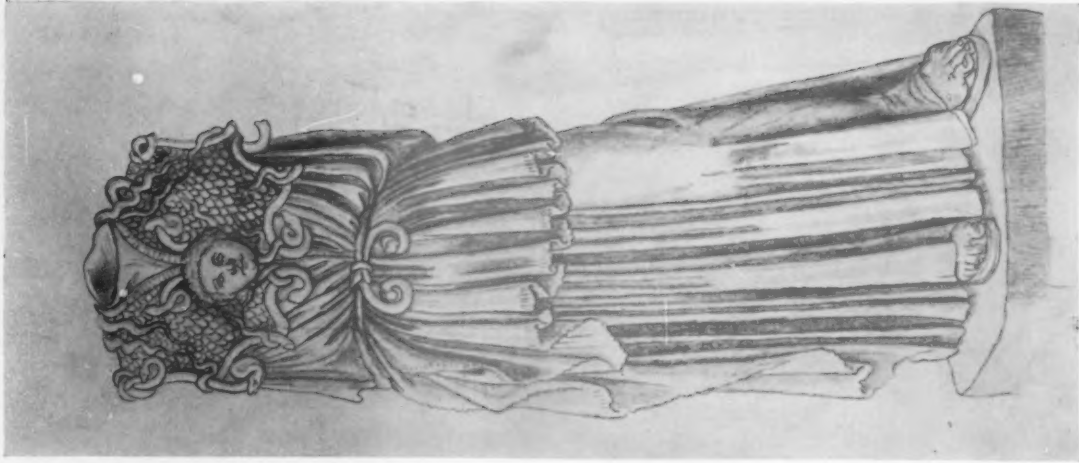


FIG. 9—Berlin, Staatliche Bibliothek:  
Unidentified Athena Sketch, by  
Stephan Pigrius

FIG. 8—Athens, Acropolis Museum: Leaning Athena

We still have another small fold outside the right leg and another inside the left leg. Both of these occur on the statue drawn by Pighius, and one of them on several other copies.

The belt is the snake girdle, a feature peculiar to the creations of Phidias.<sup>24</sup> The path to the right of the knot in front is clear, but the snake is hopelessly damaged. The body fell out and down from the knot, and the head turned in to face the corresponding head from the other side of the knot. This is the usual arrangement on copies of the Parthenos, to be found in best condition on the Varvakeion and Conservatori statues. On some of the replicas the heads degenerate into ends of string, or the heads are cut off from the bodies.

That this could not have been the case on our statue is proved by a unique but logical detail: a knot and two tails at the middle of the girdle at the back. A break which has been filled with plaster cuts across the tails, but their connection with the knot is certain. The tails do not appear on any of the other copies; but a thickening of the girdle at the center of the back of the Varvakeion statue may indicate a knot. The tails were probably present on the original. Phidias, who thought of using a snake girdle, would hardly have been satisfied with one snake having two heads.

The aegis is a short jacket, thrown over the shoulders. It is not scaly. Its two ends just meet in front. Their junction is covered by the gorgon's face. Below and above the face slope the rolled edges of the aegis. Above the top of the aegis the top of the peplos re-appears.

We can most easily restore the aegis by beginning at the right side and working toward the center. Fig. 1, top, shows the remains of the aegis; Fig. 1, left, how it must be restored. Three tails of snakes (A, B, and C) lead toward the edge at points where semicircles are broken away. Between the third snake and the center, between a deep gouge into the aegis and another semicircular break at its edge, is a piece (D) of the body of a snake, running parallel with the edge of the aegis; the tail of this snake must have extended inward, where the gouge now is, as did the tails of the other snakes. Between the outermost and the second snake (between A and B), the edge of the aegis projects; between the second and third (between B and C), it projects and is complete, sloping down toward the center of the body; between the fourth snake and the center of the body, it appears sloping up toward the center. The edge is rolled over on top. There is no cord upon it. At the point R, between snakes B and C, a single mark remains of the strokes which decorated the edge. The outermost of the four tails (A) runs into a damaged coiled tube, which is the coiled body of a snake. The coil, complete, would extend beyond the boundary of the aegis. The semicircular breaks at the edge opposite the other three snakes (B, C and D) therefore correspond to the original projections of their coiled bodies. The edge was struck where it projected, and broke off around the inner edges of the coils. We must therefore restore four snakes, coiled on top of the rolled edge of the aegis, each with its tail in and its head hanging out over the edge. The head of the outermost snake apparently hung free. Below the second and third, are remains of small struts (E and F) which supported the heads; around these struts, and between them and the aegis, the surface of the statue is coarsely worked. Below the innermost snake, but nearer than it to the center of the body, are

24. Furtwaengler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, 1895, p. 11, finds the origin of the snake girdle in snakes on the back of the aegis which, on certain archaic statues, were tied about the body to keep not the drapery but the aegis in place. A strip of skin similarly fastens the lion's pelt on the Egyptian god Bes,

Daressy, *Catalogue Général, Musée du Caire. Statues de Divinités*, 1900, pl. XLI, 38.738. A girdle of two snakes twice encircling the body and locking heads and tails in front, is found on the gorgon from the temple at Corfu, Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, 174.



remains of two struts (G and H). These must have supported the top and bottom of the free end, which hung lower than the other snakes. In addition to these four snakes, there may have been a fifth at the edge of the aegis on top of the shoulder; so that either eight or ten snakes would be visible from the front, each coiled on a point of the polygonal aegis.

The complete snakes with tail in and head out occur again on the statue from the west slope of the Acropolis. They probably were duplicated in metal on the Madrid and Bitolj statues, which have a single hole for attachment at each point of the aegis.<sup>25</sup> On the majority of the replicas, however, a different scheme is used; at each corner of the aegis, the head of one snake is hooked about the tail of another; the head hangs down, the tail lies on the aegis, and the two bodies bound the aegis as far as the next corner. That this was not the case with our statue is proved by the mark, R, on the edge of the aegis. These short parallel marks occur on the rolled skin of the Tazza Farnese, on the upper edge of the aegis of the statue drawn by Pighius, and on the lower edge of the aegis of the Borghese statue. They always indicate the edge of the skin, never the body of a snake.

Furtwaengler<sup>26</sup> considered the complete snakes an invention of Phidias for the Parthenos, in contrast to the earlier half snakes, each extending from a point of the aegis. He thought that the complete snakes were always entwined on the Parthenos, and that their bodies always bounded the aegis, while separate coiled snakes on the rolled edge, as on the Tazza Farnese were a later usage. We now have two copies of the Parthenos on which the arrangement of the Tazza Farnese was used, and two on which it may have been used. The inspiration for making the snakes bound the aegis in addition to fringing it, whether on early or late statues<sup>27</sup> probably came from the observation that the natural rolled edge of the aegis already looked quite like a snake; following the same reasoning, or lack of reasoning, on many Athena statues, including several copies of the Parthenos, the edges of the aegis above the gorgoneion are interpreted as snakes and provided with tails which fall below. We cannot be certain whether the snakes at the edge of the aegis of Phidias' statue were entwined, as on some copies, or separate, as on our copy.

The path of the snakes which surround the gorgoneion is made clear by a coil above the gorgoneion with a point for the attachment of an overhanging part at the top of the coil (L), and another point of attachment nearby on the edge of the aegis (K); a snake's body following the edge of the hair of the gorgon, not connecting with the upspringing coil, but in lower relief and running at an angle to it (P); a snake's body following the chin of the gorgon (N); and a tail running to the side (M). A snake's head must rest on the edge of the aegis. The body then loops above the gorgon's face and disappears behind it, to knot below the chin with the corresponding snake coming from the other side. Continuing beyond the knot, the body follows the chin, disappears behind the hair and appears again at the top of the head, turning sidewise and ending with a tail.

The snakes of the Wolkonsky gorgoneion are similar to ours; they coil above the head, pass behind, follow the chin, disappear behind the hair and ears, and extend to the sides. They are, however, entwined with snakes which bound the aegis. Pighius' statue must have been very similar, but his drawing is not clear.

A ridge on the aegis between the curls and the outside of the shoulder is part of a crease

25. The Bitolj statue has one less corner on each side than ours, and the Madrid statue omits the hole from one corner of each side.

26. *Aniike Gemmen*, 1900, II, p. 253. *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 10-11.

27. Early examples are the Athena from the pediment of the temple at Eretria, Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 1930, fig. 281, and the bronze Athena from the Athenian Acropolis, Brunn-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 81 a.

which ran over the shoulder. On the copy from the west slope of the Acropolis and on the Madrid copy there are two such creases on each shoulder. A second crease may have existed on our statue. The creases, if on the original, would have helped to break the monotony of the huge aegis.

Of the known heads of the Parthenos type, that in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen might be suggested as belonging to this statue.<sup>28</sup> The style and the technique of cutting the hair (with a running drill line between the main divisions of the locks, abraded lines marking the lesser divisions, and drill holes at the centers of loops) are the same, and the materials so similar that they may be from the same quarry. The head, however, is too big for the statue. The length of the face of our statue, from central point of helmet top to chin, calculated from that of the Varvakeion statue by the same ratio as that used to determine the height of the figure, was 0.149m., while the length of the cast of the head in Copenhagen is 0.18m. The statue and head are shown together in Fig. 5, to prove that they cannot belong together, but that they are so closely related that they must be considered together in future studies of the copies of the Athena Parthenos. None of the other known heads resembles our statue in any way.

The complete figure which results from our study is very broad in front view and very narrow in side view. This paper-doll form it certainly copied from its great forebear. It is an indication of early date; fifth century statues usually have this form as compared with the round full figures of the Hellenistic age. But in spite of these proportions, and in spite of copying the lines of the fifth century model almost exactly, the figure is in a momentary pose, which would have been impossible and undesired in the age of Phidias. A few simple changes give motion instead of ease; the lines of the lower part of the front of the skirt slant slightly; the overhanging part of the front of the peplos has part vertical, part diagonal lines; the knot of the girdle is not at the center front, but slightly to the statue's right; the aegis projects beyond the drapery of the right side, and the fold of this drapery at the right has a flare out at the waist; on the back, the folds of the skirt are vertical, while those of the overhanging part, which fall above them, slope down from right to left. All this, translated into position of the body, means that the right hip is thrown forward and out, that the upper part of the body bends back, and that there is a twist at the waist. The lines which give this effect to the figure are not, it must be emphasized, drawn arbitrarily on the restoration. The swing of the lower front folds is required for locating the feet properly under the legalized drapery system, and the beginning of the swing can be seen on the fragment. The triangular box plaits at the right of the front overhanging part of the peplos are there for all to see, as are the slanting line of the right folded edge above the waist, the projection of the aegis beyond this fold and the slanting lines on the back below the waist. And it is easy to assure oneself, by measuring the photograph, that the distance from the center of the gorgon's face to the edge of the aegis at the right, where it is practically complete, is less than the distance from the center of the gorgon's face to the edge of the cutting for the inseting of the left arm, and this cutting is at least 0.05m. deep; drapery must have appeared at the left side beyond the left edge of the aegis. If there

28. Pollak, *Jahrb. d. O. Arch. Inst.*, IV (1901), pp. 144-150, figs. 171 and 174, Pl. IV. A sample of the marble of the head, sent by Dr. Frederik Poulsen, was compared microscopically with a sample from our torso by Mr. John Marshall, who finds that "the sample from the torso shows a marble of essentially the same

character as that from the head. The two samples are not definitely from different rocks. They show several points of resemblance, but none so unusual in marbles as to justify a determination that they are the same material." See above, p. 150, note 4.



is any error in the drawing, it is in the direction of minimizing the twist of the figure, in an effort not to over-emphasize it. Thus, a fraction of the weight has been placed on the left foot and on the shield supposedly supporting the left hand; we might with perfect justice have placed all the weight on the right foot, in which case it would have had to be placed farther to the statue's left, and the lines of the skirt would have to take on a greater slant. (Pighius drew the right foot to the left of the center of the body.) And the knot at the front of the girdle might have been placed at the top of the center of the broadest box plait of the overhanging part of the peplos. The knot cannot, in any case, be in the middle of the figure as seen from the front.

This careful and elaborate achievement of a temporary and highly plastic pose despite the limitation of a fifth century scheme of drapery can betoken only one thing; that the copyist was living in the later part of the Hellenistic age. Plastic, three-dimensional figures in momentary poses, with drapery slashed by zig-zag lines, appeared in the cities of the eastern Mediterranean in the age following the conquests of Alexander, and vanished before a greater number of simpler figures in the age following the conquests of Augustus. The glory of the new discovery is apparent in such stupendous original creations as the Nike of Samothrace. Side by side with these original creations were created statues based on earlier works, trying to recall them and their masters, but making no effort to copy the details of the statue nor the style of the master. A case in point is the Pergamon copy of the Athena Parthenos, which of all the examples least deserves the name of copy;<sup>29</sup> the heavy triangle inside the left leg is enough to cut it off the list of copies; if the plastic effect of the whole is not striking, it is because the statue is not very good. A better example is the Athena with the crossed aegis, from Pergamon, the original of which, if any, is still in doubt; this shows, among other Hellenistic characteristics, a slight but strong zig-zag of lines down the front.<sup>30</sup> Another is the alabaster statue of Athena, recently found in Rome, called "Hellenistic-Roman" but truly Hellenistic.<sup>31</sup> This, perhaps a free adaptation of Phidias' Lemnian Athena, achieves a remarkable effect through the contrast, especially on the back, between the absolutely vertical lines of the lower skirt and the peplos above the waist, and the slanting lines of the overhanging part of the peplos between them; a comparison of this back with the back of the Madrid copy of the Parthenos will serve to illustrate the difference between Hellenistic adaptation and pure copying. After the blast of creation and adaptation had spent itself, the Hellenistic artist betook himself to copying; but he was as unable to copy mechanically as the maker of late Panathenaic vases was unable to copy sixth century black-figured vases. He always used some zig-zag, and this always indicates a twist of the live figure under the drapery. The Athena with the slanting aegis, from Pergamon, may be called a copy of a work of the late fifth or early fourth century,<sup>32</sup> but the zig-zag is effectively rendered by the slanting lines of the peplos above the waist, which follow the slanting aegis and contrast with the vertical lines below the waist. And the copy of the Athena Parthenos, signed by Antiochos the Athenian, gives away its date, the first century B. C.<sup>33</sup> by having the edge of the aegis closer to the right arm than to the left. Our statue, and the statue drawn by Pighius, must be of the same period; the diagonal lines and the placing of the aegis off center require this date. A force from outside was necessary to remove these Hellenistic characteristics from the face of the earth and substitute mathe-

29. Krahmer, *Röm. Mitt.*, XL (1925), p. 103.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-78.

31. Bendinelli, *Not. Scav.*, Ser. 6, II (1926), pp. 58-61, pl. 1.

32. Ippel, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVII (1912), pp. 313 ff., pl. XXIV. Krahmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 f.

33. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen*, 1923, p. 56.





FIG. 10—Detail of Right Side, Actual Size



FIG. 11—Detail of Back at End of Peplos, Actual Size

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Copy of Athena Parthenos

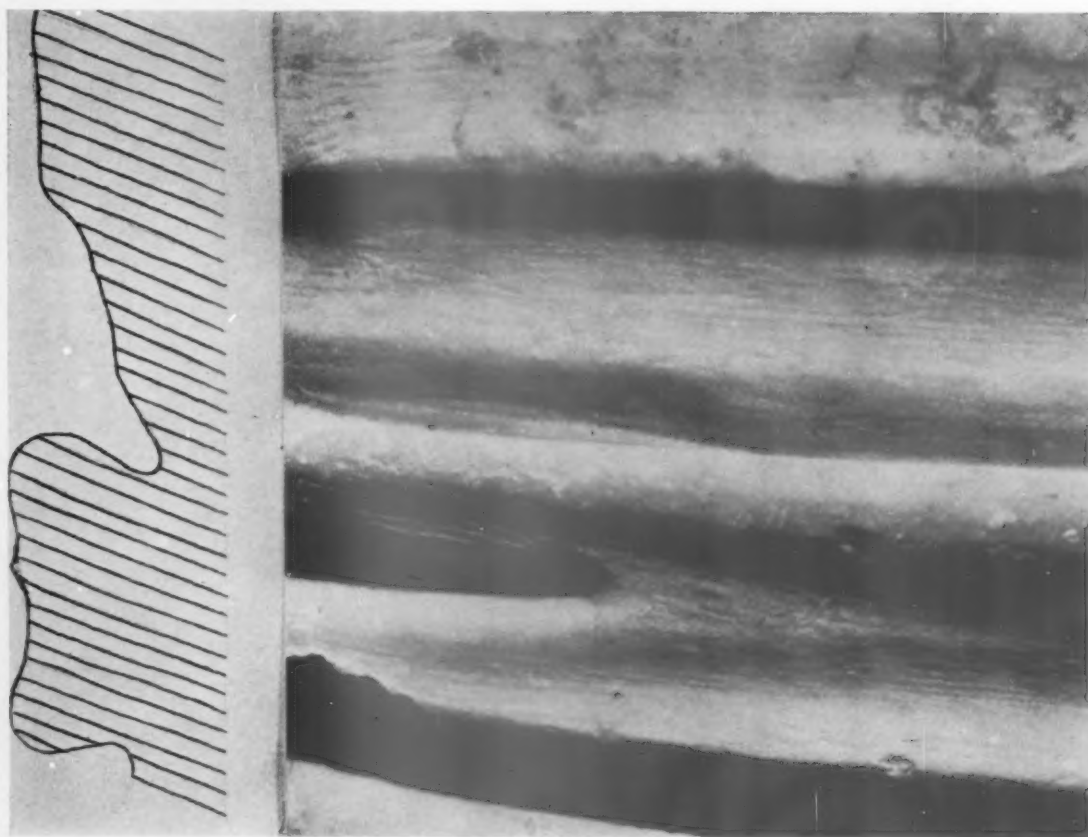


FIG. 12—Detail and Profile Drawing of Back below Waist,  
Actual Size

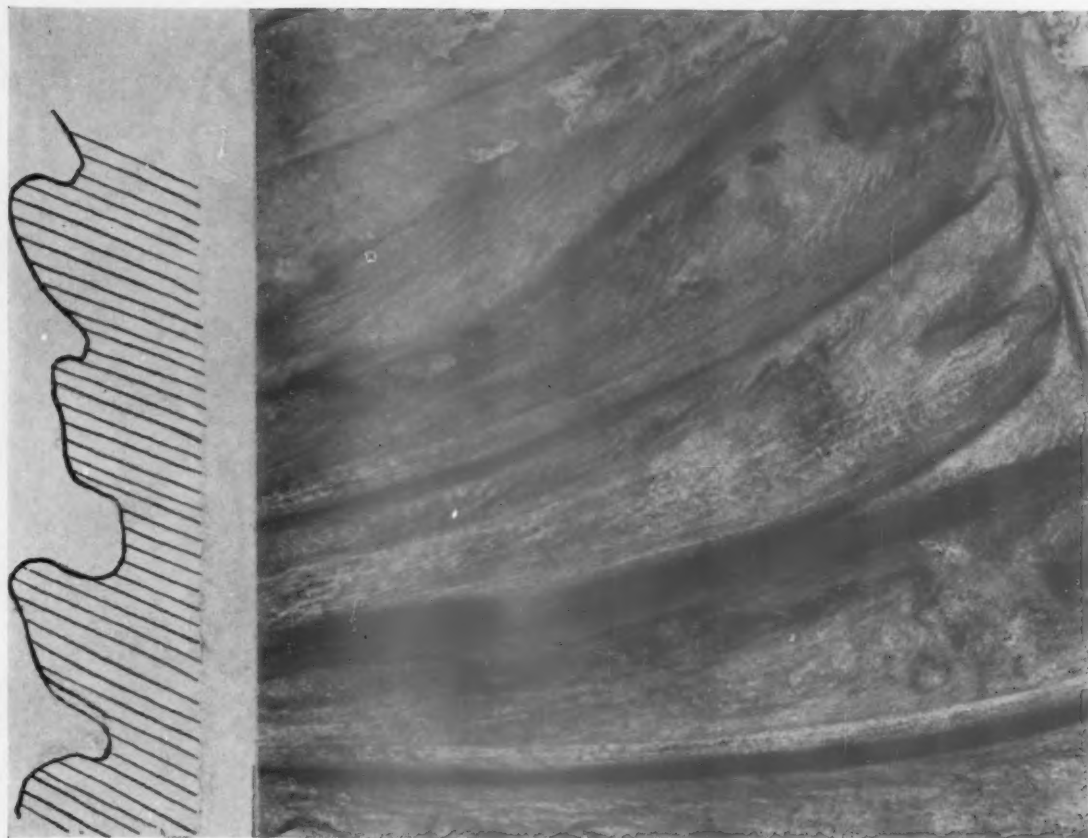


FIG. 13—Detail and Profile Drawing of Back above Waist,  
Actual Size

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; Copy of Athena Parthenos

matical copying; and that force was the power emanating from Rome reorganized by Augustus.

My conclusion that our copy of the Parthenos is of eastern origin, and of the first century B. C. is based entirely upon the style of the figure. The technique is of interest as a sample of the way in which a school of artists worked; and the parallels of this technique are adduced as parallels, not as proofs of origin or date. At some time it may be possible to arrange a chronological series of such statues from technical evidence; at present we can merely collect technical evidence from statues whose date is otherwise determined.

The tool marks are those of a drill, a rubbing tool, a rasp, a file and a pointed chisel. The drill was about 0.03m. in diameter. The rubbing tool made much finer marks than the rasp and file.

The circular mark of a drill held perpendicular to the surface of the statue appears at the end of each lock of hair. A line of drill holes, each touching the next, cuts around the edge of the hole for each arm. A line of holes from the perpendicular drill was used to cut out two grooves at the right side below the waist, one shallow and one, next to it, very deep. The circles appear side by side along the bottom of the shallow groove; similar holes, worked over with a rasp but still unmistakable, can be seen on the side of the next groove, around the corner from it. They seem to have been worked diagonally from the back (Fig. 10). I have been able to find no repetition of exactly this use of the drill. The drill holes which were used at the ends of folds and to cut out folds on Greek work of the end of the fifth century are not unlike these holes; but they are consistently used throughout a given piece of sculpture.<sup>34</sup> In addition to the holes mentioned there are single drill holes at four points: at the end of a line at the right side of the front just below the waist; in the middle of the dividing line of the edges of the peplos at the front above the waist; at the lower edge of the overhanging part of the peplos on the back to the right of the center; and at the end of a line countersunk into a fold under the left arm. Two of these are at the ends of folds, two are not. They were of little use in the cutting and it seems possible that they were reference points for measuring.

The "running drill" was probably used for the numerous vertical grooves. The usual "running drill" cutting, with straight sides perpendicular to the plane of the surface and half-round bottom, appears at a few places at the right side. The places are not conspicuous, and must have been even less conspicuous before the heavy pieces of cloth, which almost covered them, were broken away. The line characteristic of the statue is *undercut*. It is started as a drilled line, made with the drill held at a slant to the surface; there is always a concave cutting from the drill at the side under the overhanging edge. But the drilled line is always *reworked* with a rubbing tool, pressed against the bottom and outer edge of the groove. The straight bottom and outer edge of the groove could not be obtained from the drill alone. Profiles and detailed photographs of this cutting from two sections are shown in figures 11 and 12. By turning the undercut lines toward the center or toward the outside, placing them close together or far apart, and varying their depth, different effects are achieved: on the upper front, the grooves are wide and the spaces small, so that fine single and double undercut ridges stand up in relief; on the lower front there is a combination of high box plaits and thin relief folds darting to opposite sides; on the upper back are flat folds, all undercut from the center; and on the back overhanging part

34. Carpenter, *The Sculptures of the Nike Temple Parapet*, 1929, pl. XXXIV.



of the peplos a combination of broad plaits undercut from one or the other side, and box plaits.

The best other example which I know of this type of groove on a statue is the young girl from Priene in the British Museum.<sup>35</sup> (Stylistically, too, this statue is not far from ours; it was pointed out by A. H. Smith<sup>36</sup> that the figure is very like the charioteer from Delphi, but the drawing back of the free foot gives greater variety to the folds.) Among the reliefs we find this groove on the square pedestals of the temple of Ephesos.<sup>37</sup>

Into some of the broader plaits at the back near the waist line, countersunk drill lines were made. These are distinctly different from the undercutting lines just described. They are few on this statue, and the rule on copies of the "black and white" school. Running drill lines, very slightly reworked, bound and subdivide the locks of the hair.

On top of some of the plaits and at the center of the body above the waist, back and front, are delicate relief lines, left standing during the finishing of the statue. Moreover, some of the larger folds on the front above the waist can best be considered as relief folds, envisaged by the artist before the final rough blocking out of the statue was achieved (Fig. 2). Such relief lines and folds first occur on the Parthenon sculptures, and are characteristic of Greek work.

The lower edge of the overhanging part of the peplos stands forth 0.02–0.03m. beyond the skirt. It is slightly undercut, and its surface is worked with a file. A coarse rubbing tool, used after the file, made the tiny scallops along the edge. The rubbing tool was also used on the upper surface in working the scallops, the grooves alternating with those given to the under side (Fig. 11). The crinkling along the vertical edges of the cloth, preserved at two points only, was also worked by strokes of a rubbing tool, used on the two sides alternately.

A rasp has been used on the deep furrows of the side of the skirt. The deepest of the furrows was started, as stated above, by a row of drill holes. The rasp to cut out a furrow is not unusual. It was used, for example, on the Eirene in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>38</sup>

The entire surface has been coarsely filed. Surfaces which are or were covered by overhanging parts or which were close to protruding parts show the file marks most plainly. On the rest of the surface the marks have been rubbed down by time and also by the artist; but they are not so rubbed down as to disappear; therefore the surface was not shiny. A coarsely filed or rasped surface exists on the Propylaea copy of the Parthenos, and has been called a fifth century example of preparation for paint by Casson. Gilt, rather than paint, would be appropriate for these two copies of the Athena Parthenos.<sup>39</sup> But a similar surface has never been interpreted as due to painting or gilding on the portrait statue from Priene in the British Museum<sup>40</sup> nor on the adaptation of the Erechtheion maiden from the Athenian Agora,<sup>41</sup> nor on the copy and the adaptation of the Eleusis relief, both in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>42</sup> In the absence of any gilt, I therefore hesitate to affirm that our statue was gilded, although this would go far toward explaining the insertion of blocks exactly matching the ivory blocks of the original.

35. *Antiquities of Ionia*, IV (1881), p. 31, fig. 16.

36. *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, II (1900), p. 155, no. 1154.

37. Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, 1934, pl. 31, 4. On the dating see Carpenter, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), p. 421.

38. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 1930, fig. 660.

39. *Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, 1933, p. 217, and fig. 87. See above, p. 154 and note 7.

40. *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, II (1900), p. 154, no. 1152, pl. XXII.

41. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 371–374.

42. Richter, *Bull. Met. Mus.*, XXI (1926), pt. II, p. 8, fig. 2, and XXX (1935), pp. 217 and 219, figs. 1 and 3.

The cuttings for the head and those for the arms, except for the lines of drill holes at the edges, have been made by heavy strokes with a pointed chisel, worked from the top down.

The statue, then, is a copy of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias, expressing the two materials of the original by change of blocks. The torso may have been gilded. It contributes the unknown feature of Phidias' statue, the tied tails of the snake girdle. It has as points of difference in detail from some but not all other copies complete separate snakes curled one on each corner of the aegis, and a motive of four complete curving edges at the right, open side of the peplos. It expresses, by slight slanting of the vertical lines of the original, the torsion of the Hellenistic age, and must therefore be dated in the age of Hellenistic copies, the first century B. C. The statue was made somewhere at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and carried to Rome in ancient times.

43. No. 42.100. Actual size 0.013 m. Set in modern gold ring. Formerly in the Newton-Robinson Collection. *Catalogue*, 1909, p. 23, no. 85. Onyx, cut through white into brown. Rudely scratched on the back is the name KAHMHC. I am not certain that the inscription is ancient. Athena wears a simple crested helmet. Hair falls forward on the neck beside the helmet. The gorgoneion can be plainly seen on the aegis. The shield at the left of Athena is unusually round. From it a snake curls up the spear in the manner of the snake winding itself up the staff of Aesklepios. The

figure on the right of the goddess resembles a tiny Eros, rather than a Nike, and the object which it holds out toward Athena resembles a star more than a crown; the little figure, however, is crudely worked, while the rest of the gem is well made. The gem is of Roman workmanship, of the second century A. D. I am indebted to Mr. E. T. Newell, Mr. S. P. Noe and Miss Gisela Richter for help in the dating of this gem, and to Mr. Harold Ellsworth for making and photographing the impression.

# A LATE REICHENAU EVANGELIARY IN THE WALTERS GALLERY LIBRARY

By DOROTHY MINER

REICHENAU manuscripts, in which the libraries of Munich and Bamberg are surpassingly rich, so seldom are to be seen outside of Germany that the presence of one in an American collection deserves to be signaled.<sup>1</sup> Among the seven hundred or more illuminated manuscripts in the library of the Walters Art Gallery is a Gospel Book,<sup>2</sup> known but slightly to scholars, which has been attributed to eleventh century Reichenau art. Although a few publications have alluded briefly to the manuscript, no complete or accurate description has yet appeared, nor have adequate reproductions been published.

All that can be learned at present of the history of the volume is that it was in German possession in the early part of the nineteenth century, and that, sometime after 1854, the book was acquired through the dealer, G. I. Ellis, by Sir Thomas Brooke for his library at Armitage Bridge House, near Huddersfield, in Yorkshire. The catalogue of this collection compiled by Ellis in 1891<sup>3</sup> describes the manuscript as being "of the X century, of Frankish execution." The codex was lost to sight after the distribution of Sir Thomas Brooke's library following his death in 1908.<sup>4</sup> It subsequently was acquired by Gruel of Paris, from whom Mr. Walters obtained it.

While the Evangeliary was still in Huddersfield, it was seen by Dr. Arthur Haseloff, who was the first scholar to mention it.<sup>5</sup> His unpublished photographs formed the basis of Georg Swarzenski's allusions to this manuscript,<sup>6</sup> which, like Haseloff's, were in reference to the representations of the Evangelists. The only considerable discussion of the book is to be found in Prochno's useful work on early mediaeval dedication pictures,<sup>7</sup> where the author points out certain stylistic and iconographic relationships of the frontispiece (Fig. 1), which will be discussed presently.

It is my primary purpose to provide more adequate illustration<sup>8</sup> and description of the

1. To my knowledge there are no other manuscripts at present attributed to the school in this country. MS. 1 in the New York Public Library was at one time connected with this group. Cf. Seymour de Ricci, *A List of Medieval Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, New York, 1930, p. 5. Present opinion tends to favor the attribution of this to the Corvey or Weser group, as expressed by Hans Swarzenski, *Die deutschen Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters in amerikanischem Besitz* in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* (1929).

2. MS. 7.

3. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Printed Books Collected by Thomas Brooke*, 2 vols., London, 1891, I, p. 196 and plate.

4. For the sales in which Brooke manuscripts appeared between 1909 and 1923, see the list in Seymour

de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 167-168.

5. H. V. Sauerland and A. Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier*, Trèves, 1901, p. 89 and note 3.

6. *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 16, note 2, 177, note \*. *Die Salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1913, Textband, p. 28, notes 1 and 2.

7. J. Prochno, *Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1929, I, p. 38 and plate. The present whereabouts of the manuscript was unknown to the author.

8. The only illumination hitherto reproduced is the dedication page, which appeared in the Brooke Catalogue and in Prochno's work.



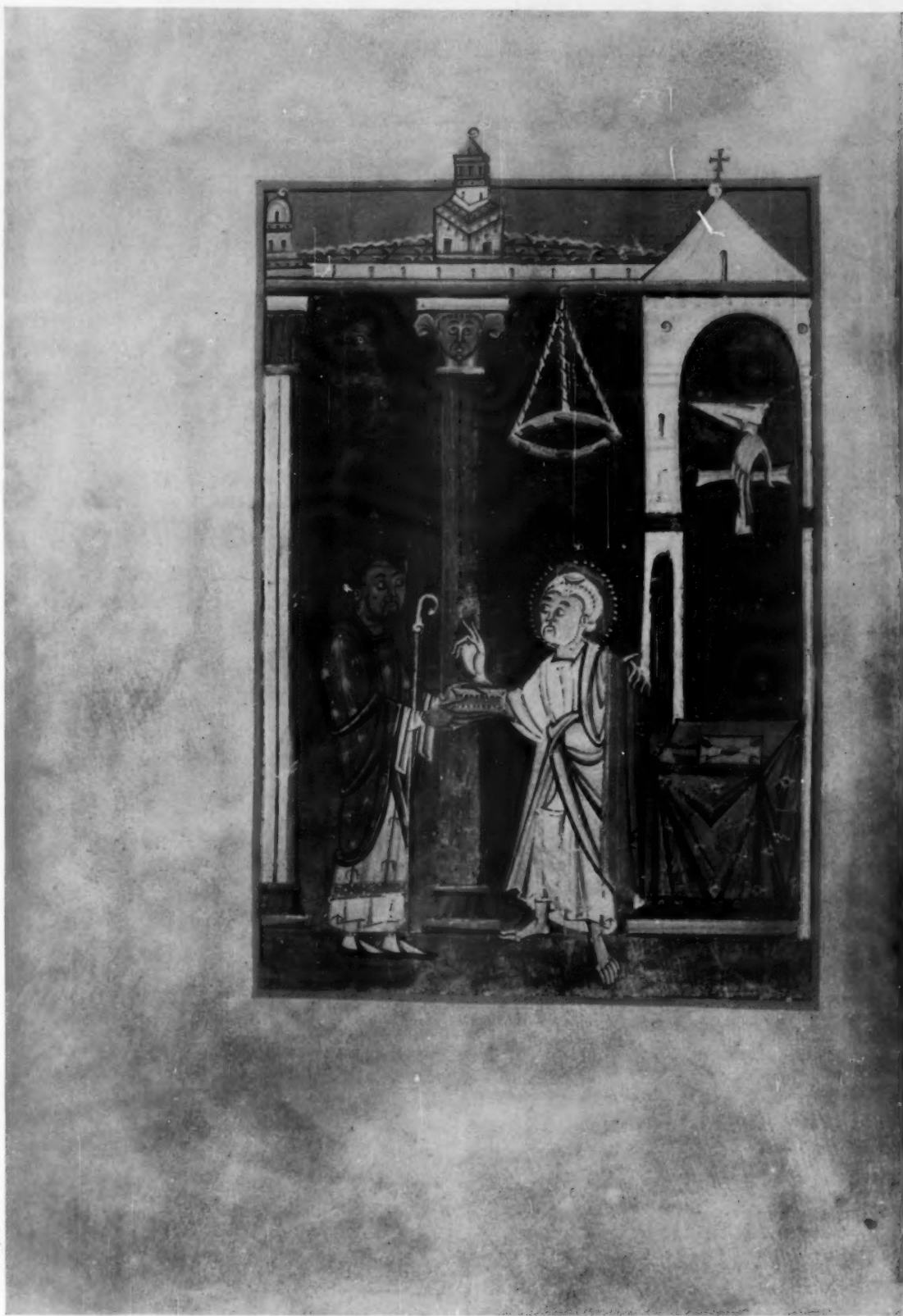


FIG. 1—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Dedication Miniature, MS. 7 (Folio 9v)

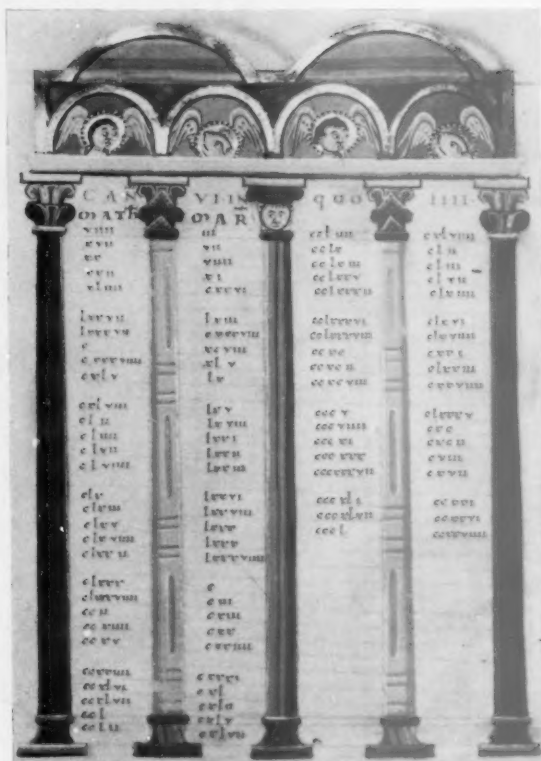
FIG. 2—*Folio 6v*

FIG. 3—*Folio 7v*

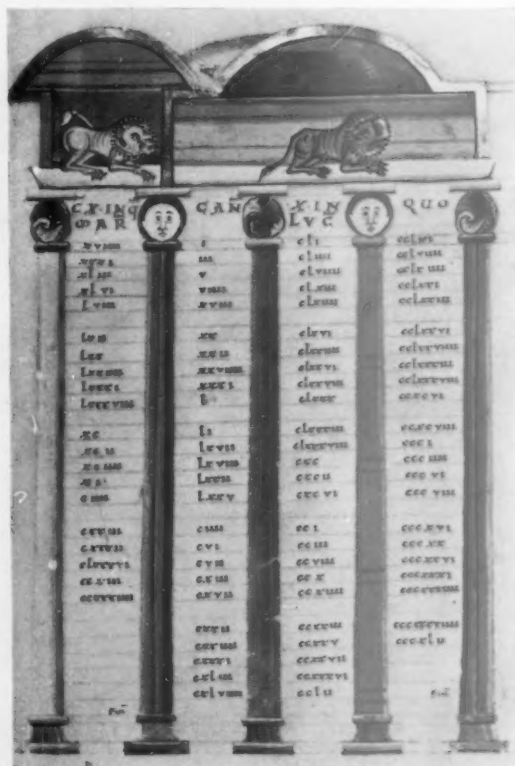


FIG. 4—*Folio 8r*

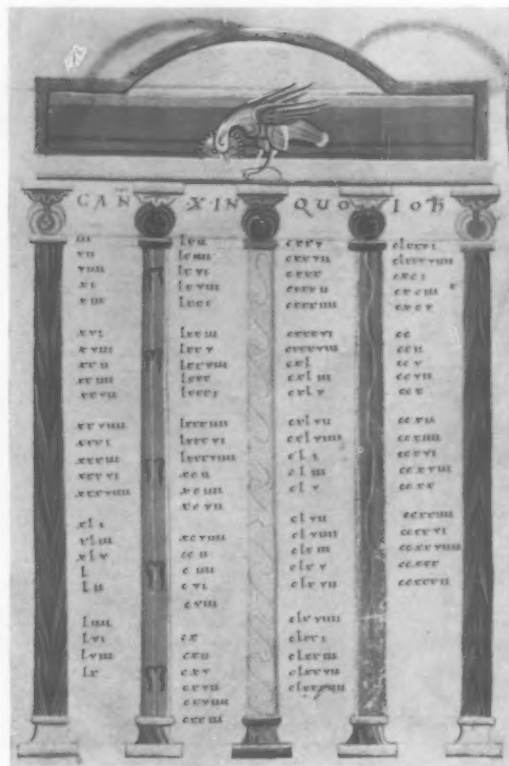


FIG. 5—*Folio 8v*

Evangelary, and incidentally to indicate other material closely related to it, and to raise certain questions as to its position in the history of the Reichenau style.<sup>9</sup>

The Walters manuscript<sup>10</sup> is a small thick quarto of 202<sup>11</sup> leaves, containing only the text of the four Gospels, together with the usual prologues and Eusebian Canons. Unfortunately, there is no colophon, nor any lectionary or liturgical equipment as clues to the origin and date of the manuscript. Such information must be deduced solely from the character of the script and of the illuminations. The latter consist of sixteen pages of ornamented canon tables, a dedication picture, full-page portraits of the four Evangelists, an elaborate initial page at the beginning of each Gospel, and four smaller ornamented initials.

The text is that of the Vulgate, with occasional insignificant variations. It is written in long lines in a very small, even script, slightly sloping, which appears to have been the work of three different scribes. Each paragraph commences with a gold uncial initial which stands out in the margin in a column especially ruled for this purpose. The introductory words of each chapter are likewise inscribed in gold uncials.<sup>12</sup> This general arrangement of marginal initials and introductory phrases distinguished by uncials in gold or color is a familiar ordering of the page in Reichenau manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>13</sup>

I am not equipped to transgress upon the proper field of the palaeographer. However, a glance at the reproductions of Reichenau writing collected by Chroust, will establish a few obvious points.<sup>14</sup> The general character of the script (Fig. 15) shows apparent relationship with the Reichenau type. I call attention particularly to the slight inclination to squareness in certain letters, especially the d, u, and p; a tendency to show an increased slope in some or all of the verticals of m and n, and the general type of e, a, and g. Certain of these resemblances are obvious even in manuscripts as early as the Codex Egberti, but a closer analogy is to be seen in the examples which postdate the millennium, such as Bamberg MSS. Bibl. 76 and 22,<sup>15</sup> and also Munich clm. 4454.<sup>16</sup> The lack of more complete palaeographical relationship in Chroust's reproductions may perhaps be ascribed to the fact that the majority of his examples antedate our manuscript by several decades. A comparison of the abbreviations and ligatures listed by Chroust with those cited in the detailed description of the Walters Gospels given at the end of this article will reveal many interesting analogies.

9. The portions of this article dealing with related material can pretend only to indicate relevant aspects of the problem. First-hand examination of the manuscripts in question and even the acquisition of adequate photographs of some of them were impossible for the purposes of this brief discussion.

10. A complete description is appended to this article.

11. The mention of 402 leaves contained in the Brooke Catalogue, p. 196, is obviously an error for pages, which were incorrectly numbered.

12. The capitulation corresponds to the version described in Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine. Evangelia*, Oxford, 1898, pp. 18-39. The text there cited is derived from the *Codex Cauensis* (p. xi, 3), a ninth century Visigothic manuscript, closely related textually to the *Codex Toletanus* and the *Codex Amiatinus*. I am indebted to Rev. Dr. C. Petersen of the Catholic University for this information. The number of chapters in each Gospel corresponds to the "shorter type" cited by Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906, p. 331, except that Mark in our MS. contains 12 instead of 13

chapters. For other remarks on this chapter division, cf. S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, Paris, 1893, p. 312.

13. Cf. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica. Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, 8 vols., Munich, 1902-1935, Ser. I, Band III, Lief. 19, Taf. 5 (Munich Staatsbibl. clm. 11019); Taf. 7 (Darmstadt, Gero-Codex); Lief. 20, Taf. 1 (Bamberg MS. Ed. V. 9); Taf. 9 (Munich clm. 4454); Taf. 6 (Bamberg MS. A. II.42). Cf. also examples illustrated in Hans Fischer, *Mittelalterliche Miniaturen aus den Staatlichen Bibliothek Bamberg*, Heft I, pl. 7 (MSS. A.I.43 and A.I.47). I am indebted to Prof. Chroust and Prof. Beeson for answering my questions regarding palaeography.

14. *Op. cit.*, Ser. I, Bd. III, Lief. 19, Taf. 1-3, 4-10; Lief. 20, Taf. 10; Ser. II, Bd. II, Lief. 10, Taf. 5-9; Lief. 11, Taf. 1-2a; Bd. I, Lief. 4, Taf. 2; Lief. 9, Taf. 3.

15. Fischer, *op. cit.*, Heft I, pl. 7.

16. Georg Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, Band VI, pl. 22.



The Walters Evangeliary was unknown to Vöge, but Haseloff, Swarzenski, and Prochno have agreed in assigning it to the school which he isolated—the so-called Liuthar group of Reichenau. The reasons for this ascription are sufficiently obvious from a glance at the general character of the book: the type of figures and ornament, the rich introductory pages of purple with branching golden initials filled with green and blue, and the clear, pastel cast of the coloring. The palette, in fact, is identical with that used in the luxurious masterpieces from Bamberg Cathedral Treasury.<sup>17</sup> The same chalky blue-white, pale green, yellow, grey-violet, and mulberry, is enlivened with passages of red-orange, cobalt, emerald, and the royal richness of purple and burnished gold. Flesh tints are strong and swarthy, or pale and ghostly. The evangelistic symbols stand out against the shading blue, lavender, and rose of a late classic sky.

The ornament, like that of the more famous Reichenau manuscripts, for the most part derives ultimately from classic models. However, the imaginative variations of columns and capitals, the application of traditional mosaic and painted ornament to architectural members, and the whimsical treatment of such structural forms in general, suggests here, as in other manuscripts of the school, the intervention of Carolingian traditions. The general use of the ornament<sup>18</sup> is not so rich as commonly occurs in Reichenau manuscripts of the most luxurious sort, but the character of the decoration is typical: fantastic marblings of the columns (Figs. 3, 5, 7, 8), sundry variations of acanthus borders and capitals (Figs. 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13), and the cabbage-like capitals of Figure 7, the various ornaments in perspective, based on ribbon and meander designs (Figs. 6, 11, 12), the capitals shaped like human and animal heads (Figs. 1, 3, 4, 8), and the essentially Carolingian motif of columns wound with a vine or rope (Figs. 3, 7).

The canon tables, like the other features of our Gospels, show themselves as simplifications of the type current in the manuscripts of the *Blütezeit*. Compared to Leidinger's reproductions of the canons in the Evangeliary from Bamberg Cathedral Treasury (Munich clm. 4454)<sup>19</sup> and the Gospels of Otto III (Munich clm. 4453),<sup>20</sup> the corresponding pages in our manuscript show lighter structure, far less variety and plasticity of form, and sparser ornament. The heavily embellished arches and gables of the two Munich manuscripts are here replaced by a scheme of plain architraves surmounted by a gold band framing symbols of the Evangelists which are placed upon backgrounds of modulating colors. The frame is arched to embrace the columns which figure in each concordance: a single span indicates that all the lists on the page are mutually related (Fig. 5 and earlier unillustrated canons), while two enclosing arches denote that the page is split into two separate tabulations (Fig. 2). This accounts also for the extraordinarily awkward partitioning which separates the symbols on folio 7v (Fig. 3) to indicate the distinction between a concordance of Luke and John at the left, and the list of the solo passages in Matthew at the right; a similar device on folio 8r (Fig. 4) divides the solo tabulation of Mark from that of Luke.

The fanciful figures, birds, beasts and plants which fill the pediments and corners of the Munich manuscripts are here replaced by a less lively invention. The majority of the canon pages have at the top of each column the head of the appropriate symbol, winged

17. Cf. plates reproduced in G. Leidinger, *Meisterwerke der Buchmalerei*, Munich, 1920, Taf. 5-11.

18. It would be tedious to cite here parallels for the various ornamental motifs to be found in Walters MS. 7. Every one can be matched in other Reichenau works, and the counterparts of the majority may be

found even in a single representative manuscript, such as Munich, clm. 4453. Cf. illustrations in G. Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften* . . . , Heft I.

19. *Ibid.*, Band VI, pl. 1-12.

20. *Ibid.*, Heft I, pl. 1-12.

and nimbed. The last three folios of the series present some welcome variations on this scheme. The Matthew column on folio 7v (Fig. 3) is surmounted by a full-length figure, not of the winged symbol, but of the Evangelist himself, seated on a podium and inscribing a scroll. The beardless type corresponds to the full-page portrait of St. Matthew on folio 15v, but variations of color and pose, and the omission of the desk show that there was no intention of duplicating the larger figure. Although I have not chanced across its exact duplicate in any available Reichenau illumination, there is every indication that it is copied from a model of the same school. Certainly very little attempt has been made to adapt the pose of the figure to the conventional limits of the canon arcade.

An easily demonstrable use of such "lifting" occurs on folio 8v (Fig. 5), where the eagle of St. John, rendered with bowed head and flapping wings, has exact counterparts in several well-known Reichenau manuscripts. Both in Munich clm. 4453<sup>21</sup> and clm. 4454,<sup>22</sup> the space between the twin gables of a canon table is filled by just such an eagle, but not presented as the symbol of St. John. These two eagles are unnimbed, and the downthrust head finds its explanation in the fact that the bird is pecking at a fish. The derivation of our eagle from precisely such a model further clarifies the peculiar treatment of the claws, one of which is rendered as contracted, while the other disappears behind the architrave—rather an illogical substitute for the prey which the bird clutches in the Munich examples. A slight variation on this same theme occurs on another folio of Munich clm. 4454,<sup>23</sup> where the bird, likewise with flapping wings, twists its head to grasp the rabbit beneath its claws. Eclecticism of this literal nature is so characteristic of the manuscripts of the Liuthar group that its presence here has some value as corroboration of relationship.

The canon arches on folio 8r (Fig. 4) show the lion of St. Mark and the ox of St. Luke rendered in amusingly apprehensive positions, of which exact counterparts are difficult to find in other Reichenau works. Somewhat related to these animals, though lacking their furtive spirit, are the symbolic ox and lion which hold the long scroll over the head of the glorified emperor in the Gospels of the Cathedral Treasury at Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>24</sup> Most of the other Ottonian examples show these symbols crouching aloft and holding the head proudly, as in the Gospels of Henry II at Munich (clm. 4452)<sup>25</sup> or those from St. Maximin in Trèves,<sup>26</sup> deriving from favorite Carolingian renderings.<sup>27</sup> A closer parallel in spirit, if not in detail, is to be found in the symbolic beasts which crawl over the arched corner spaces allotted to the Evangelists in one of the compositions in the Codex Aureus from St. Emmeran,<sup>28</sup> and on the corresponding page of the great Bible of St. Paul's at Rome.<sup>29</sup> In this connection one must mention as the most relevant instance from Ottonian times, the Gospels of Abbess Uta of Niedermünster in Regensburg (1002–1028), a codex which displays many Reichenau relationships. On the initial page of St. John's Gospel,<sup>30</sup> the lion and the ox in the upper corner medallions are shown as rearing, but the positions strongly suggest derivation from crouching models closely corresponding to the type in Walters MS. 7. Such visualization of the evangelistic symbols in playful or other unusual

21. *Ibid.*, Heft I, pl. 11.

22. *Ibid.*, Band VI, pl. 4.

23. *Ibid.*, Band VI, pl. 3.

24. A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, Florence, 1928, II, pl. I.

25. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 35b.

26. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 13b.

27. Paris, B.N. lat. 324 (Evang. de Colbert), A. Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pl.

CXXXIXc, -d; B.N. lat. 266 (Evang. de Lothaire), *ibid.*, pl. XXXII; London, Brit. Mus. Harl. 2788, *ibid.*, pl. XIIa; Cambrai, Bibl. de la Ville, MS. 327, *ibid.*, pl. CIXc, etc.

28. Munich, Staatsbibl., clm. 14000, *ibid.*, pl. CXVIb.

29. *Ibid.*, pl. CXXVb.

30. G. Leidinger, *Meisterwerke der Buchmalerei*, pl. 15, Munich, Staatsbibl. clm. 13601.

positions was doubtless a Carolingian conception, especially frequent in the productions of the Ada school and St. Denis. Other variations of it are familiar to us in such ninth century works, as the Gospels of St. Médard de Soissons,<sup>31</sup> the Evangeliary of St. Gombert of Ansbach now at Erlangen,<sup>32</sup> the Codex Aureus in Munich,<sup>33</sup> and the Bible of St. Paul's at Rome.<sup>34</sup> In this same connection, one may note that these evangelistic beasts of the Walters Gospels are conceived rather whimsically to be wearing their halos as collars, through which their heads are thrust. This is an unusual fantasy, but one which occurs occasionally in ninth century manuscripts, and provides a further instance of the strong survival of Carolingian motifs to be observed in our Gospels.<sup>35</sup>

The evangelist pictures preserve in general the types traditional to the school, which, as Haseloff and others have shown,<sup>36</sup> derive from Ada models. In comparison with other series of evangelist portraits of Carolingian and Ottonian times, our group is remarkable for a certain monotony in the orienting of the body of the saint always toward the right.<sup>37</sup> The usual practice was to vary the poses alternately in frontal and profile view. Variety is achieved here, however, not only by the traditional use of both bearded and youthful types,<sup>38</sup> but especially in the treatment of the head and the upper part of the body. Each Evangelist is shown at a different stage in his task. St. Matthew sharpens his quill; St. Mark dips his pen and looks toward his symbol; St. Luke writes busily; and St. John pauses long enough to glance up for inspiration.

Concerning the genre nature of St. Matthew's pose, Haseloff<sup>39</sup> has already noted the present occurrence as being unique in the Liuthar group, but has cited the Poussay Evangeliary as another Reichenau example. The motif is again one which has prototypes in the Ada school, where the Evangelist frequently is shown inspecting the quill point.<sup>40</sup> The representation of an Evangelist really in the act of sharpening his pen contains even more genre implication than the Ada version, and is to be met with in later manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>41</sup>

The rendering of St. Mark is one which is in every respect of a type proper to the Liuthar group. The broad gesture of dipping the pen, the abruptly upturned face, and even the very head type are to be found in such outstanding examples as Munich clm. 4452<sup>42</sup> and clm. 4454<sup>43</sup> (with some variation). The unusual feature of the boldly patterned mantle has already been mentioned by Swarzenski,<sup>44</sup> who notes a similar instance in

31. Paris, B.N. lat. 8850, Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII and XIX.

32. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV.

33. In addition to the plate cited above see also Boinet, pl. CXVIIb.

34. *Ibid.*, pl. CXXVIIIb.

35. Cf. Paris, B.N. lat. 8850 (Gospels of St. Médard de Soissons), *ibid.*, pl. XIXb; London, Brit. Mus. Harl. 2788, *ibid.*, pl. XIIb; Gyulafehérvár, Bibl. Batthyany (Gospels from Lorsch), *ibid.*, pl. XVIIa; Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Geneviève MS. 1190, *ibid.*, pl. LXXXII and LXXXIII; Würzburg, Univ. Bibl. M. p. Theol. fol. 66, Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 57.

36. Sauerland and Haseloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-89. G. Swarzenski, *Regensburger Buchmalerei*, p. 16, note 2.

37. A somewhat similar monotony in the placing of the Evangelists occurs in some of the *Majestas Domini* pages of the Trèves and Echternach schools, where all four figures are rendered in profile to face the center of the page. Cf. Paris, B.N. lat. 8851 (Gospels from Ste. Chapelle), Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 9; Gotha,

Landesbibl., I, pl. 19 (Codex Aureus of Otto III); *ibid.*, II, pl. 43.

38. On this mixture of types cf. Sauerland and Haseloff, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Also, W. Vöge, *Eine deutsche Malerschule um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, Trèves, 1891, pp. 182-191.

39. Sauerland and Haseloff, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

40. Cf. Gyulafehérvár, Bibl. Batthyany (Gospels from Lorsch), and Darmstadt, Landesbibl., Cod. 1948 (Gero Sacramentary), Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 18a and b; The Hague, Bibl. Roy., MS. AA 260 (Egmond Evangeliary), Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CXc.

41. Brussels Bibl. Roy., MS. II, 175, from Maas region, H. Ehl, *Die Ottonische Kölner Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1922, fig. 44; also Darmstadt, Landesmuseum Cod. AE 682, from region of Laon. Photos in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

42. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 35b.

43. Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften . . .*, Band VI, pl. 16.

44. *Regensburger Buchmalerei*, p. 16, note 2.



the Gero Sacramentary at Darmstadt,<sup>45</sup> again demonstrating the strength of the Ada influence. A similar motif is to be seen in the closely related but earlier Gospels from Lorsch.<sup>46</sup>

Our representation of St. Luke is so familiar a type in the Reichenau and Echternach schools as to make comment superfluous.<sup>47</sup> The vivacious pose of St. John, glancing over his shoulder for inspiration, has already been discussed by Swarzenski,<sup>48</sup> who gives a list of prototypes in the Ada school, and particularly stresses its currency in the Liuthar group of Reichenau, and contemporary Echternach and Regensburg works. I might call further attention to the notable frequency with which this pose of John is accompanied by a similar *contraposto* of the symbolic eagle above, giving accent to the spiral movement of the composition.<sup>49</sup>

The characteristic which most noticeably differentiates our evangelist portraits from the more monumental work of the Reichenau school is the extreme simplicity and compactness of the figures, and the reduction of even the few accessories usually to be found in the Liuthar group. These, as I shall demonstrate later, are stylistic, rather than iconographic features, and are related in this respect to the monotony of arrangement which we have noted previously.<sup>50</sup>

The most interesting illumination in the Walters Gospels is that representing an abbot presenting the book to a saint, who opens a door near an altar, on which the codex already lies in dedication (Fig. 1). Unfortunately, neither the abbot nor the saint is named, thus depriving us of conclusive evidence in dating and placing the manuscript. The picture of the abbot with his bald head, curling locks, light chin-beard, and drooping moustache, is sufficiently specific in its characterization to suggest that we have here portraiture, rather than idealized representation.<sup>51</sup> The appearance of the saint immediately calls to mind the usual type accorded to Peter. Owing to the lack of any defining attribute, such as the apostolic keys, Prochno<sup>52</sup> is justified in declaring that positive identification is impossible.<sup>53</sup> However, the bare feet and the classic tunic and toga imply that he is an apostle, rather than some mere local saint or martyr. Among the apostles, the type seen here: short white beard and hair marked with a dotted line indicating a "wave" is so generally accorded to St. Peter, especially in Reichenau painting, that we may be justified in assuming this identification at least tentatively.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, we are perhaps not fully accurate in considering

45. Sauerland and Haseloff, *op. cit.*, pl. 61.

46. Vatican Pal. Lat. 50, Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII; also illustrated on pl. 61 of Sauerland and Haseloff, *op. cit.* Patterning of the garments of the writing Evangelists gained some favor in the Cologne School of the XI-XII centuries. Cf. the Gunold Codex in Stuttgart, MS. Quarto 2, Ehl, *op. cit.*, fig. 58 and pp. 145-146; Evangeliary from St. Pantaleon, Cologne, Stadtarchiv MS. 312a, *ibid.*, fig. 95.

47. Cf. for instance, Munich clm. 4452, Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften* . . . , Heft V, pl. 2; Hillinus Gospels, Cologne, Dombibl. MS. 12, Ehl, *op. cit.*, fig. 66; Codex Aureus of Henry III, Escorial, Cod. Vitras 17, A. Boeckler, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III*, Berlin, 1933, pl. I.

48. *Salzburger Malerei*, p. 28, note 2.

49. For illustrations see Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 11, 45, 59, 66.

50. The placing of the desk very close to the figure has occasioned a comment by Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, p. 54, note 2, in connection with the Gospels in Würzburg. The brief description of this manuscript mentioned by Vöge, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-145, mentions no

evangelist portraits. Probably Swarzenski interprets as an Evangelist the figure which Vöge names St. Paul, and which he asserts was added to the manuscript at a later date. On the identification of the figure in Berlin Staatsbibl. MS. Theol. lat. 34, with which Swarzenski relates the miniature, see the article on this latter manuscript by Vöge, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIX (1896), pp. 105-108. If the page in question really belongs to the Würzburg manuscript, the cramped arrangement of the accessories must be considered as a stylistic rather than an iconographic feature, as is certainly the case in the Walters Gospels.

51. On the reliability of mediaeval portraiture, see Prochno, *op. cit.*, pp. XIII-XIV.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

53. Nevertheless on p. 37 of this same work, in alluding to our manuscript in connection with the Hillinus Gospels, Prochno inadvertently states that the "receiving saint" in the Walters manuscript is Peter.

54. In Reichenau manuscripts Peter is shown with or without tonsure—even various representations in a single work may be inconsistent in this detail. For the Peter type in other manuscripts of the school, cf. for

the saint to be without attribute of any kind. The door which he touches with his left hand may conceivably refer to his guardianship of the heavenly gates. Unfortunately, the hypothesis that the dedication of the book is to St. Peter is of little help in localizing the manuscript, as he was patron, not only of Reichenau, but of Regensburg, Echternach, and various other places in which the monasteries had close artistic relations with Reichenau.

Prochno has discussed this scene from the point of view of its relationship to other mediaeval pictures of this kind.<sup>55</sup> The type here illustrated belongs to his first, or "donation scene" classification,<sup>56</sup> of which the representation current in Hrabanus Maurus manuscripts is the best-known version. On the basis of close analogy in conception and composition, he has connected with our scene the dedication pictures in four other manuscripts of the period: the Hillinus Codex in Cologne,<sup>57</sup> Berlin Kupferstichkabinett MS. 78 A 2,<sup>58</sup> British Museum Harleian MS. 2908,<sup>59</sup> and Bibliothèque Nationale MS. f.1.1231.<sup>60</sup> It is these related manuscripts which supply our only historical evidence for arriving at a date. The Paris manuscript has been shown by Delisle<sup>61</sup> to have been executed for Bishop Otto of Regensburg, who held office between 1060 and 1089. The dedication scene does not correspond to our own in every detail, but Prochno is justified in seeing a very close connection between the two, especially in the stance of the two figures and the rendering of St. Peter. He implies that the Paris manuscript must have been copied from the Walters one, thus deducing a rough *terminus ante quem* for our Gospels. Although not supposing so precise a connection as this, Swarzenski<sup>62</sup> had already noted an analogy between the two scenes, as well as with that in the Kupferstichkabinett Evangelistary. The relationship between this last-mentioned manuscript and our Gospels is indisputable, not only on the ground of composition, but because of striking stylistic similarities. A monk, duplicating almost line for line the abbot in Walters MS. 7, presents the book to a seated emperor, who is attended by a sword-bearer at the right. The composition, as in the case of the Walters Gospels, is unified and given tripartite division by the architectural setting. There is no inscription in the Berlin manuscript to provide us with definite information, although Beissel<sup>63</sup> has suggested that the honoring of St. Bartholomew in the pericopes might point to the region of Frankfurt. Attempts at dating this manuscript have been based upon identification of the emperor. The reasons for supposing him to be Henry III are fully outlined by Schramm.<sup>64</sup> Since Henry was elected King of the Germans at the age of nine years, but did not become Emperor until 1039, when he was twenty-two, the rendering of the personage as a mature man certainly suggests that he must have been this age or more at the time of the representation. Thus the manuscript may be dated between 1040 and 1050.

The close connection between Walters MS. 7 and MS. 78 A 2 in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett brings us to a question of their specific stylistic qualities. The Berlin manu-

example: Bamberg MS. Bibl. 140 (A.II.42), H. Fischer, *op. cit.*, Heft II, pl. 4; Munich clm. 4453, Leidinger, *op. cit.*, Heft I, pl. 23, and *passim*; Hillinus Codex, Cologne, Dombibl. 12, Prochno, *op. cit.*, pl. 37; etc.

55. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

56. *Ibid.*, p. XX.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 37 and plate.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 39 and plate.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 40 and plate.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 94 and plate.

61. *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, Paris, 1874, II, p. 389.

62. *Regensburger Buchmalerei*, p. 177.

63. *Des Hl. Bernward Evangelienbuch*, Hildesheim, 1891, pp. 34-38.

64. P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 127, 206. Janitschek, *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei*, Berlin, 1890, p. 89, and P. Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen, Handschriften, und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Leipzig, 1931, both attribute the manuscript tentatively to Henry IV. As Schramm has pointed out, Henry could not have been represented as full-grown much before 1070, a date which seems too late for the style of the manuscript.



FIG. 6—*Matthew* (Fol. 15v)



FIG. 7—*Mark* (Fol. 67v)



FIG. 8—*Luke* (Fol. 106v)



FIG. 9—*John* (Fol. 161v)

*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: MS. 7, Evangelists*





FIG. 10—*Beginning of Matthew (Fol. 16r)*



FIG. 11—*Beginning of Mark (Fol. 68r)*



FIG. 12—*Beginning of Luke (Fol. 107r)*



FIG. 13—*Beginning of John (Fol. 162r)*

*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: MS. 7, Gospels*

script has been alluded to not infrequently in scholarly literature, usually as an example of the complete decline of the later aspects of the Reichenau school.<sup>65</sup> Judging from the illustrations of this Evangelistary to be found in Prochno,<sup>66</sup> Janitschek,<sup>67</sup> and Wescher,<sup>68</sup> the illumination was the work of two artists. The artist of the scenes reproduced in Figures 14 and 16, shows such close relationship to the style in Walters MS. 7 as to suggest the hypothesis that the Berlin illuminations may represent the later work of the same artist. Not only do the two sets of pictures have in common a certain dry and hard distillation of the earlier Reichenau manner, a simplification of forms, and a flattening of the stylized plasticity of the great period, but there are also connections of a less general character. I call attention to the rather glum solemnity of the personages and the universal lifting of the eyebrows in an expression of mild surprise—a feature doubtless derived from the intense, penetrating glances of earlier Reichenau figures. The hard, diagonal lines of the drapery of St. Peter in Fig. 1 may be compared with similar forms in Figs. 14 and 16. Note also in the Berlin manuscript such incidental details as the use of the two types of face proportion: round and firm, or long and ascetic; the stylized modeling of the forehead; the methods of rendering the hair, particularly the little forelock accorded St. Peter; the little fold of drapery at the knee of a standing person; the stepped hem-line of the garments; the long, angular feet; the tendency to render standing figures as stunted and seated figures as elongated; and compare the occurrence of identical stylistic habits in the Baltimore Gospels. The color plate reproduced by Janitschek demonstrates to anyone who has seen the Walters manuscript that the color in the two works is identical, including even the rather too chalky composition of the white paint, which causes it to rub off. Without having the opportunity of examining the Berlin Evangelistary, it would be foolhardy to press any theory about identity of origin; however, the extraordinarily close relationship between the two is not open to question. Due to more fundamental stylistic qualities which I shall analyze presently, I am inclined to see in the Berlin manuscript a product some few years later than the Walters Gospels. On the basis of the approximate date deduced for the former, our Gospels may be considered to have been executed between 1030 and 1040.

Another member of this same group is to be seen in MS. M. p. Theol. Quarto 5 in the Würzburg University Library. Unfortunately, the only illustration of this codex known to me is the rather poor one in Vöge,<sup>69</sup> but this is sufficient to show that the style is identical with that of the two manuscripts discussed—perhaps in its slightly fuller drawing moving nearer to the Walters example chronologically.

Analysis of the style of the Reichenau illuminations has been undertaken by Vöge, Haseloff, Köhler, Boeckler, Goldschmidt, and most of the other scholars who have written about the school. Quite naturally, however, such comment has been confined to the important early works and those of the developed period—a span of not more than fifty years. Few of the obviously late manuscripts, such as the Kupferstichkabinett Evangelistary, have received any notice, and then only as uninteresting evidences of decline. It might be more useful to regard these late members of the group rather as landmarks, by which we may

65. Besides the literature already cited in connection with this manuscript, cf. S. Beissel, *Das Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III aus dem Dom zu Goslar*, Düsseldorf, 1901; *idem*, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher*, pp. 211, 222, 230, 345; Vöge, *Eine deutsche Malerschule*, p. 151; Boeckler, in *Die Kultur des Abtei Reichenau*, Munich, 1925, p. 998.

66. *Op. cit.*, pl. II\*, 39\*.

67. *Op. cit.*, opposite p. 90.

68. *Op. cit.*, Abb. 3-5. The illustrations of the manuscript accompanying this article are after these latter reproductions.

69. *Op. cit.*, Abb. 26 on p. 210.

gauge the tempo and direction of the Reichenau stylistic development. The proper pursuit and application of such an analysis might well result in the redating of many of the manuscripts now vaguely placed "around the year 1000," thus arriving at a more consistent and continuous chronology.

In surveying this whole course of Reichenau evolution, we trace through it a style which arose from the North European love of rich pattern complicated by restless linear energy. Reichenau's specific contribution to this heritage was the deliberate organization of the design elements so as to reinforce the movement. This organization soon developed into a remarkable system of simplification and restraint, which compressed mere movement into dynamic power. In time, this restraint overwhelmed the inherent energy of the figures and reduced them to a final, but not unimpressive placidity.

Let us follow the trend of Reichenau style by examining briefly the initial ornament of the school. As has often been pointed out, this supplies a remarkably accurate index of the style underlying the figure painting.

The school inherited the initial ornament of St. Gall, a type characterized by richness and complexity, without subordination or emphasis.<sup>70</sup> However, from the moment we strike this tradition in Reichenau works, we sense an entirely different attitude in its use. To illustrate my meaning, let us look at the great B on folio 53 of the Egbert Psalter.<sup>71</sup> Despite the excrescences and fertile branchings of this letter, one finds that the source of these growths is the basic centrifugal movement of the minuscule form. The ornamental elements are in no sense additions, they are outgrowths. With all their complexity, they are marshaled to express the significance of their parent, stressing within the letter the essentially spiral movement of the bowl, and at the top, the surging liberation of the stem. The dynamic swing of the unit is stabilized by elaborate knots at sides and bottom, which emphasize the axis of the letter and knit it to the page.

It is important to note that this page is conceived on grounds that are entirely opposed to classical principles of composition. The whole balance of the design is dynamic, not symmetrical. The very willingness to merge vegetable with literal form is foreign to classic imagination. Finally, the frame does not function as an enclosing and limiting element. The letter is not only tied to it, but has burst beyond it. Thus the frame likewise functions dynamically instead of structurally, serving to relate the curling letter to the rectangular page. Initial pages of quite similar character appear in the contemporary Egbert Codex at Trèves. This expression of the essentially non-classic imagination of the Reichenau artist is important to remember when observing the paintings of this latter manuscript, which seek to approximate so closely a late classic model.

The Liuthar group manuscripts develop further this expressionistic ornament of the letters. Again, the initials are embellished in terms of their essential dynamic characteristics, but there is a growing tendency to clarify not only the movement, but the form of the letter. The artists of the school did not examine classic works without results. To this end, space is cleared around the essential forms, accessory ornament is simplified and reduced to its basic elements. The initial itself is allowed to sprout only such branching vines as will, either by rhythm or contrast, best characterize both form and movement. Goldschmidt reproduces side by side two monograms from the *incipit* pages of St. John's Gospel

70. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 70a and b.

71. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 21b. I follow the generally accepted attribution of this manuscript and others of the

Ruodprecht group to Reichenau, rather than Prof. De Wald's Einsiedeln theory. Cf. his discussion in *The Art Bulletin*, VII (1924/25), pp. 79-90.



in Munich MSS. clm. 4452 and 4454. The tremendous simplification is at once apparent, rendering the artist's intention more evident. The N, isolated in the center of the page to stress its self-contained form, is conceived in terms of a strong contrast between the vertical strokes and the sharp movement of the diagonal. In the Pericope of Henry II (Munich clm. 4452)<sup>72</sup> this movement is clear-cut and definite, its power compressed into a tense restraint, released only in the sharp reaching of buds and lancets. The implication of surging energy is tremendous. Such compression could not endure long. In Munich clm. 4454<sup>73</sup> the explosion occurs. The vines burst into a multitude of darting, excited shoots. The whole is still controlled by the basic dominance of the central movement, a force of gravity which marshals all but the insignificant activity. Here is no longer the weedy exuberance of the Egbert Psalter, but an electric excitement.

Turning to the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel in the Walters manuscript (Fig. 11), one finds the same monogram, conceived according to the traditional Reichenau pattern. Nevertheless, the observer immediately becomes conscious of a muscular relaxation. All the familiar ingredients are present, but there has been a cooling off. The hot energy of the earlier designs has here subsided into a comfortable, but rather prim old age. More than at any stage in Reichenau development, the forms are clear and the arrangement precise. Monumentality is achieved, not by size or power, but by spatial isolation and compactness. Everything is defined, nothing is repressed or implied. The vines fill the assigned space with logical ease, echoing the direction of both diagonals and uprights. Nothing bursts beyond bounds to destroy the clear silhouette of the N and the I, nor the traditional function of the frame.

To an astounding degree this evolution of the initial style represents the trend of the figure painting in the same manuscripts. It would take us too far afield to pursue this analysis in full, but one may allude to a few points. Compared to the diffuse surface pattern, rich detail and linear movement of the compositions in the Ruodprecht group, the clarity and collected forcefulness of the figures in such a manuscript as Munich clm. 4452<sup>74</sup> presents a strong contrast. In the latter, the Evangelists, for all the simplicity of composition and smoothness of contour, are instinct with dramatic abruptness of movement and intensity of expression. The long, sweeping gesture and restrained power of the St. Mark in this manuscript renders all the more startling his counterpart in clm. 4454.<sup>75</sup> Alert composure has here given way to a wild and all but disorderly excitement. Astounded at his vision, the saint leaps from his chair, dropping his scroll, his pen in midair, his mantle flying. The stabilizing downward thrust of the architecture which represses the movement in clm. 4452 is here omitted. Nothing checks the intense excitement of the zigzag silhouette. There could be no more complete picturization of the spirit motivating the initial ornament of this same book.

When we turn to the Walters Gospels after this survey, we must again relax as our eye falls on St. Mark (Fig. 7). There is no doubt as to the picture's descent, but neither alertness nor astonishment stimulates his body or displaces the smug patience on his features. Even from his symbol all wildness has been domesticated, except the flame-like locks, which stand erect in memory of an earlier energy.

As we now examine the group of evangelist portraits in the Walters manuscript, we are aware, not of a collapse, but of a contraction. It is the same "cooling-off" which we noted

72. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 38a.

73. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 38b.

74. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 35.

75. *Ibid.*, II, pl. 40.

in the initials. Where the tense, smooth lines of the previous works implied restraint, hard, formalized outlines now define a laggard form. The repetition of harsh angles and abrupt gestures is a reminiscence of the old tensility, but no energy courses through them.

Nevertheless, these pictures are not without impressiveness. The concentrated power of the early works has here resolved itself into a compactness of form. Not only is the outline of the figures rendered with the utmost simplicity, but nothing is permitted to break the continuity. At some sacrifice of variety, the figures crouch over their desks, which are pulled up to the body so as to form one block with it. No external accessories are permitted. The symbol appears without distracting excitement in the center of the arch, and is contracted so as to increase the vertical accent of the picture. Wings, which in Carolingian and the earlier Reichenau examples would have spread grandly from side to side, here are small, and point abruptly down toward the Evangelist. To the dignity achieved by compactness is added a certain monumentality through the clear area of golden space which surrounds each Evangelist. The controlled use of space in magnifying the importance of figures seems first to have been grasped by the earlier Ottonian artists, as a result of their classic models. The sophisticated quality of the Walters manuscript is largely due to the fact that this lesson has not been forgotten, either in the illustrations or the initial pages.

Despite their vertical axial emphasis, only two of the Evangelists have been placed in the center of their framed space. These are, of course, the two figures whose movements are directed both to right and to left: St. Mark and St. John. The other two Evangelists are not thus balanced by their own movement, and they both have been set to one side of the page. There is a twofold intention in this: to locate in the center of the panel the vertical accent of the desk pedestal and of any other upright lines; and to permit the front or "open contour" of the figure to direct itself toward sufficient space to absorb any movement implied in its pose—thus providing a sort of dynamic balance. Very similar generalizations may be made concerning the asymmetry of several of the initial pages. Therefore, we may conclude, that for all the subsidence which has taken place in the once abounding energy of the school, the inherent compositional principles are still the same. The material is still conceived in terms of potential movement, rather than objectively balanced form.

The two manuscripts most closely related to the Walters Gospels, the Evangelistaries in Berlin and in Würzburg, display much the same stylistic qualities, except for certain particulars. Both of them, to judge from available photographs, are much more prone to strict formal symmetry than is our manuscript. In some cases, as in that of the Ascension (Fig. 14), this might be explained by the individual tradition of the scene; but this would not account for all instances. Although the Kupferstichkabinett manuscript retains in its full page scenes the tradition of allowing plenty of "head room" above the figures, there are indications that the taste for this is already shifting. This is borne out by the heavy banding with which the artist has cut across above the heads of the apostles in the Pentecost (Fig. 16), and in the rather weak proportioning of space to subject in the dedication page of this same work.<sup>76</sup> In this same connection, one must also note the almost mosaic-like assembling of the figures in the Würzburg Nativity scene. Thus these more fundamental matters of compositional feeling, as well as such superficial stylistic details as the increased stiffness and schematization, place these two manuscripts a stage later than the Walters Gospels in the natural course of Reichenau evolution.

76. Prochno, *op. cit.*, pl. 39\*.

## APPENDIX

## DESCRIPTION OF THE WALTERS GOSPELS

MS. 7. THE FOUR GOSPELS in Latin: 202 leaves,  $9\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{9}{16}$  inches (230 x 167 mm.); written in long lines, 20 to a page; on thick, white, unpolished vellum.

*Rulings:* Each page is ruled separately, generally by means of a knife, but ink is used for canon rulings and certain other pages. Illustrations are on unruled leaves; horizontal marks visible on the gold backgrounds are due to pressure from the ruled ridges of opposing pages. Horizontal text rulings are  $3\frac{3}{8}$  inches long and  $\frac{5}{16}$  inch apart. Top and bottom lines are  $5\frac{5}{8}$  inches apart and extend across entire page width. Vertical rulings to terminate lines are paralleled by additional ruling  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch to left to accommodate marginal initials.

*Script:* Marginal initials in gold introduce each paragraph. Chapters commence with first line in gold uncials. Ornamental branching initials of gold, outlined in minium, and filled with green and blue, occur only at the head of the prologues, and, on a more elaborate scale, at the beginning of each Gospel. The text is written in a very small, even, slightly sloping script, by three different hands, as follows, A: fols. 10-14; 68v-122v; 162v-184v; B: fols. 16v-66; 123-136; C: fols. 136v-160; 185-220v. The marginal canon references are incomplete.

*Collation:* I<sup>a</sup>, II<sup>a</sup>, III-VIII<sup>a</sup>, IX<sup>a</sup>, X-XIII<sup>a</sup>, XIV<sup>a</sup>, XV<sup>a</sup>, XVI-XXI<sup>a</sup>, XXII<sup>a</sup>, XXIII-XXVII<sup>a</sup>, XXVIII<sup>a</sup>. Each signature is numbered in the lower margin of the last page with heavy Roman numerals, which do not appear contemporary with the original script. They probably date from a subsequent rebinding.

*Binding:* Limp vellum. The book was apparently rebound after 1908, as the dimensions are smaller than those given in the Brooke Catalogue. The front cover-guard and fly-leaf and the back cover-guard are not original, but show evidence of having been with the manuscript for some time as free fly-leaves. On them are leaf numbering and a note concerning foliation in a German eighteenth or nineteenth century hand. In addition to the recent foliation, each leaf of the manuscript bears a modern pencil foliation in the upper margin, and a modern Continental pagination in pencil and ink in the upper right corner recto.

*Contents:* Fols. 1-8: Illuminated Canon tables; fol. 9r: Blank; fol. 9v: Dedication picture; fol. 10r: Prologue to Gospel of Matthew, interlaced initial in gold and colors; fol. 11r: Contents of Matthew's Gospels; fols. 14v-15r: Blank; fol. 15v: Portrait of Matthew; fol. 16r: Beginning of Gospel according to Matthew, interlaced initial in gold and colors on purple, gold uncials; fol. 64r: Prologue to Gospel of Mark; fol. 64v: Contents of Mark's Gospel; fols. 66v-67r: Blank; fol. 67v: Portrait of Mark; fol. 68r: Beginning of the Gospel according to Mark, interlaced initial in gold and colors, and gold uncials on purple; fol. 101r: Prologue to Luke's Gospel, interlaced initial in gold and colors; fol. 102r: Contents of Luke's Gospel; fol. 106r: Blank; fol. 106v: Portrait of Luke; fol. 107r: Beginning of the Gospel according to Luke, interlaced initial in gold and colors, gold uncials on purple; fol. 159v: Prologue to Gospel of John; fol. 160r: Contents of Gospel of John;



fol. 161r: Blank; fol. 161v: Portrait of John; fol. 162r: Beginning of the Gospel according to John, interlaced initial in gold and colors, gold uncials on purple.

*Abbreviations:* Aside from the usual abbreviations, the following are noteworthy: the zigzag hook indicates the omission of *ur* either within a word or at the end; the hook replacing a terminal *us* is almost a circle; a straight or wavy line over *r* indicates omission of *-ant*, *-ent*, or *-unt*; *q* with a small *i* above = *qui*; *p* with a zigzag branch to the left = *pro*; *ee* superscribed with two small *s*'s = *esse*; *p* with a bar to the right of the vertical = *per* or *prae*; *qd* with the final letter crossed = *quod*; the crossing of the *q* in *aliqd* = *aliquid*; *v* crossed = *vel*; the crossing of the final letter in *vob* = *vobis*; *ꝛ* = *sunt*; *ꝝ* = *tunc*; *Ꝟ* = *est*; *ōma* = *omnia*; *āū* = *autem*; *maī* = *mater*; *q:* = *qui*; *b:* = *bus*; the uncial forms of the following letters sometimes are ligatured at the end of words or lines: *n* and *s*; *u* and *s*; *n* and *t*; *e* and *t*, with the *t* small and placed above the top bar of the *e*.

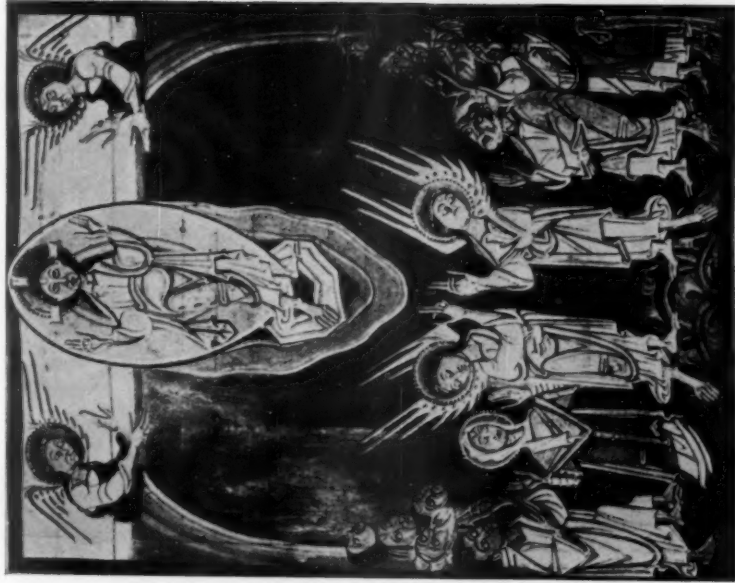


FIG. 14—Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett:  
Ascension, MS. 78 A 2 (Fol. 45v)  
(After Wescher)



FIG. 15—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery:  
Introduction to Gospel of Matthew  
MS. 7 (Fol. 10r)

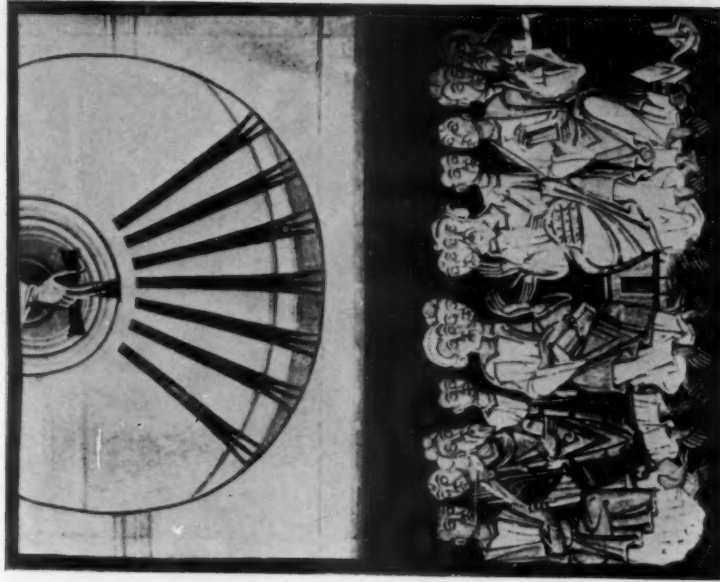


FIG. 16—Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett:  
Pentacost, MS. 78 A 2 (Fol. 47v)  
(After Wescher)

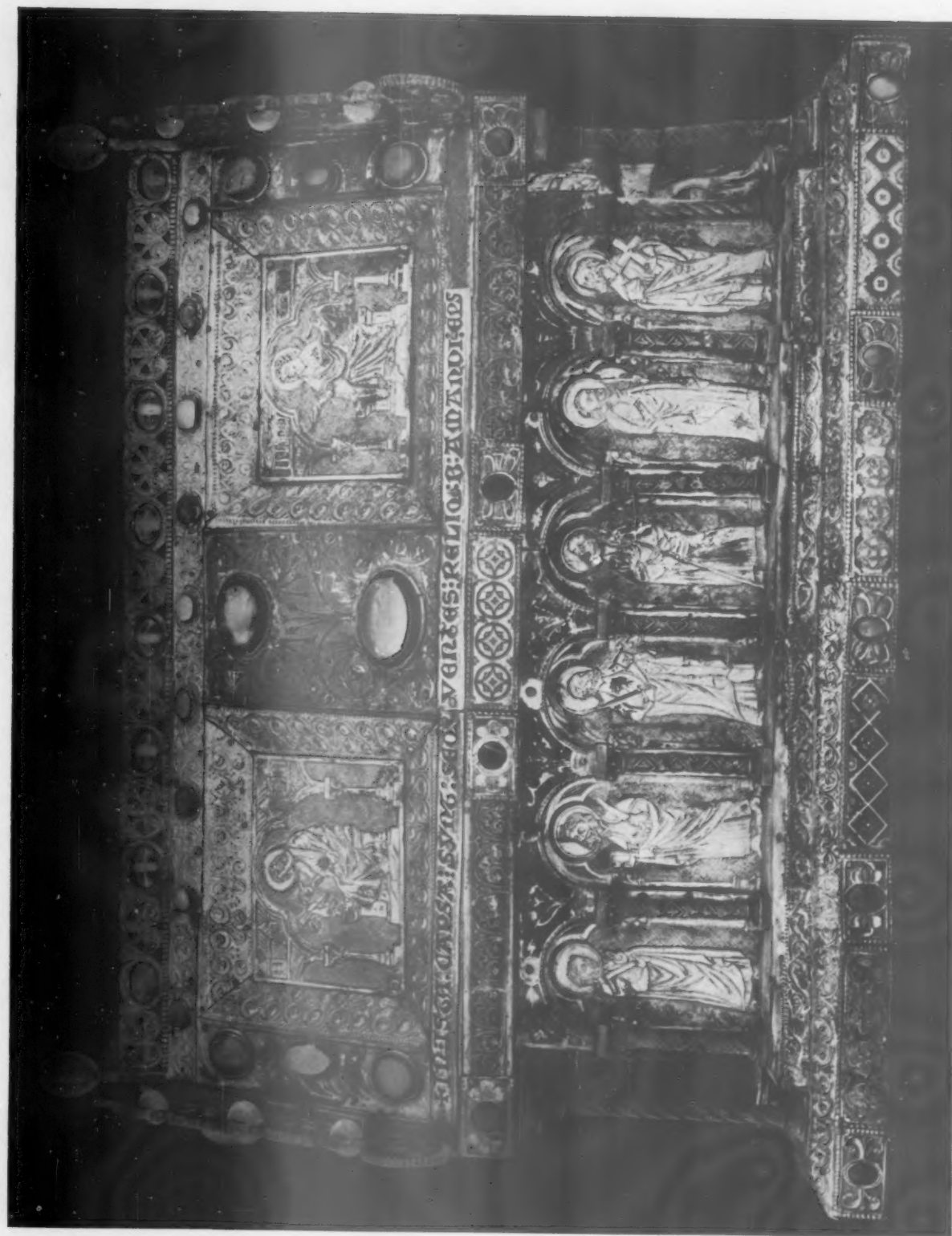


FIG. 1—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Reliquary of St. Amandus



# THE RELIQUARY OF SAINT AMANDUS

By MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

IN 1930 Mr. Walters acquired a large copper gilt and enameled reliquary<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1) which previously had formed part of the Economo Collection in Paris. The remnants of an inscription (IN ISTA CAPSA SVNT SEQVENTES RELIQ<sup>o</sup> B AMANDI.... on one side and PRO ESSENTIS COMPOSITVVS.... on the other) indicate that it once contained the relics of St. Amandus. Beyond this the records of the museum contain no further information, although one finds difficulty in believing that no account exists concerning the earlier history of so large and important an object.

The reliquary has the shape of Romanesque sarcophagi as found in Northern Europe, a form which was quite fitting since these châsses were in a sense also tombs. Along both sides runs an arcade (Fig. 3) and underneath each arch an apostle is represented in very low relief. The columns, unlike the rest of the reliquary, are in repoussé silver with fleurs-de-lys in lozenges. In the spandrels of the arches are enameled plaques. The roof was once adorned with four reliefs similar to those below but with figures of the evangelists (Fig. 2), only two of these being now in place. A figure (Frontispiece) of a bishop (St. Amandus?) in repoussé copper and the face in *émail brun* fills one end while the other is now unfortunately empty. The borders are in plaques of enamel alternating with others set with crystal cabochons surrounded by floral decoration. Other borders are in repoussé copper with vine or floral designs. The cresting too has a leaf motif interspersed with rock crystals. Many of the missing pieces have been replaced during succeeding centuries by strips of copper with contemporary designs or without ornamentation.

After the distinctly Romanesque shape of the reliquary, the detail most arresting to the eye is the series of plaques with figures depicted in low relief (Fig. 4) on a cross-hatched background. Each figure is in relief so flat that they all seem almost without modeling and just avoid being engraved, the same being true of the architectural settings. The draperies fall in long folds at times broken or varied with stiff curves while the faces are sturdily modeled with distinctly jutting chins. In contrast to the reliquary as a whole, these apostles and evangelists are Gothic, suggesting strongly the thirteenth century sculptures of Reims Cathedral. Yet they are so distinctive in style that to anyone familiar with the copper shrines of the thirteenth century they bring at once to mind the reliquary of St. Symphorien in the little village of that name situated a few kilometers from Mons in Belgium.

Since the châsse of St. Symphorien (Fig. 6) was cleaned and exhibited at Mons in 1911 it has drawn considerable attention to a number of related monuments and resulted in discussions of the whole group. It needs no Daniel come to judgment to see that these Gothic portions of the Baltimore reliquary are very close in style to the same portions on the St. Symphorien shrine. Not only are the Gothic figures here and at St.-Symphorien fitted into a Romanesque setting but the technique of low relief on an hatched ground and the

1. Size: height 0.49 cm., length 0.58 cm., and width 0.25 cm.

modeling in low relief are so much alike that the two were without any doubt produced in the very same atelier.

Count Borchgrave d'Altena<sup>2</sup> has devoted considerable attention to the shrine of St. Symphorien and connected with it a number of other reliquaries, the most significant being the triptych from the Abbey of Floreffe and now in the Louvre, a shrine in the Berlin Museum,<sup>3</sup> a reliquary belonging to the Dames du Sacré-Coeur at Mons, two plaques in the British Museum, part of a cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Martin Le Roy triptych in the Louvre,<sup>4</sup> and the cross from Salzinnes in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire at Brussels. Mr. S. L. Faison, Jr.<sup>5</sup> adds a reliquary in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a remarkable little shrine formerly in the Spitzer Collection<sup>6</sup> while the St. Amandus châsse comes as an addition of the first importance. Among these related objects the Floreffe triptych (Fig. 5) now in the Louvre is the loveliest, a remarkable object, the decoration of which recalls the still more magnificent shrine of St. Eleutherius at Tournai,<sup>7</sup> doubtless the most sumptuous of all midthirteenth century reliquaries now remaining to us.

Borchgrave d'Altena, in the first article referred to above, considers the frame of the St. Symphorien reliquary to date about 1180 due to comparisons with several others thought to be approximately of that time. Among these he lists the made-over one of St. Ghislain (Fig. 8)<sup>8</sup> at a village of that name also only a few miles from Mons. Since this châsse is in the same neighborhood as that of St. Symphorien, and has been there since the Middle Ages, no better example can be selected for comparison. Furthermore, this one can be dated 1180 with almost certainty, for in that year a translation took place according to a document which has been published a number of times but never to my knowledge in connection with the shrine. This reads: *Anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo octuagesimo, epacta vigesima secundas, Indictione tercia decima, luna quarter, die Dominica, vigesima Kalendas Junii, translatus est, in scriuii hujus conclavi, corpus Christi sacerdotis Gisleni, a domino Rogero, Cameracensis sedis episcopo. . . .*<sup>9</sup> Since scholars have dated St. Ghislain's shrine to approximately this time on other grounds, we can assume that the châsse was made for this translation, for such was usually the purpose of these monuments. The copper panels in which the stones are set are cross-hatched as on the apparently twelfth century portions of the reliquaries of St. Symphorien and St. Amandus, while the enamels with geometric designs are quite similar to the best at St.-Symphorien. Lastly, the cresting with the rock crystals, while not found at St.-Ghislain, is frequently to be noted in other twelfth century châsses, as those of St. Ursula (c. 1170), of St. Maurinus (c. 1180), of St. Albinus (c. 1189), all in Cologne, of Sts. Innocent and Mauritius (c. 1185) and of St.

2. *La châsse de Saint Symphorien*, in *Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* (1933); *La croix dite de Salzinnes*, in *Bull. des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (1934), p. 16. The apostles engraved on the back of the Virgin by Licuars at Walcourt show the influence of the objects mentioned here, but are not very close stylistically, lacking the low-relief modeling of the figures. The metalwork at Namur with the broken backgrounds is earlier in date, for the most part, and represents the work from which several groups in Belgium doubtless derived much inspiration; but it does not relate directly to this shrine.

3. O. von Falke, *Ein Frühgotische Marienaltar aus Tournai*, in *Ämtliche Berichte*, Berlin (1918), p. 14.

4. J. Migeon, *La collection de M. Martin Le Roy*, in *Les Arts* (Nov., 1902), p. 17.

5. *A Gothic Processional Cross in the Museo Cristiano*, in *Art. Bull.* (1935), p. 163.

6. *La collection Spitzer: I, L'orfèvrerie religieuse*, no. 73. Pl. XIV.

7. J. Warichez, *La cathédral de Tournai et son chapitre*, Wetteren, 1934, pls. XVIII-XIX.

8. Max Creutz in P. Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, Munich, 1923, I, fig. 119. He gives this reliquary to c. 1175.

9. Deshaisne, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Lille, 1886, p. 42, and *Annales de l'Abbaye de St.-Ghislain*; de Reiffenberg, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*, Brussels, 1848, VIII, p. 389.



FIG. 2—*Detail of Roof*



FIG. 3—*Detail of Arcade*

*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Reliquary of St. Amandus*





FIG. 4—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Reliquary of St. Amandus,  
St. Bartholomew*

Benignus (c. 1190), both in Siegburg,<sup>10</sup> while none of the reliquaries dated in the thirteenth century have this particular motif.

Again, documents may give us a basis for dating the frame of the reliquary in Baltimore about 1180, for in that year a miracle in the form of a light before the shrine of St. Amandus in the Abbey of St.-Amand-d'Elnon was noticed, as related in the *Breve Chronicon Elnonense Sancti Amandi*.<sup>11</sup> The chronicle reads: *Ignis divinus accensus est coram feretro sancti Amandi*. Furthermore that same year Evrard de Montagne, Chatelain of Tournai, made a vow to give each year two *sous* for a candle at the translation of St. Amandus.<sup>12</sup> These two incidents suggest that there was in 1180 a new translation of St. Amandus' relics or some special event to draw attention to the usual day on which the older translation was celebrated. Since there is some confusion as to whether his translation should be celebrated in October or November, it is possible that there were two translations, one in the ninth century and another at this time to inaugurate a new shrine. At least these two notices seem to imply a translation with the consequent new reliquary, possibly even the separation of relics for other churches, as often happened in other places.

The panels with the figures are, however, of the thirteenth century, regardless of the Romanesque form of the reliquary, and were probably made when the shrine needed to be repaired, perhaps because of neglect or some accidental damage. Comparisons have already been pointed out with Belgian metalwork, and the presence of a plaque with an evangelist writing, very like those still in place, and perhaps even one of the missing pieces, points also to Belgium as the place of origin, since this is still in a Belgian collection,<sup>13</sup> presumably separated long before the Baltimore reliquary left the region.

Now any consideration of thirteenth century metalwork from this part of Belgium would be incomplete without taking into account the shrine of St. Eleutherius at Tournai (Fig. 7). By good fortune this is dated, for we know that it was completed in 1247.<sup>14</sup> It is considered to be the finest piece of Belgian metalwork from the midthirteenth century, and those who have worked on this *châsse* believe that it stems from the workshop of Nicholas of Verdun who finished the Mary reliquary at Tournai in 1205. Creutz<sup>15</sup> even goes so far as to say that we must consider it a belated piece from the workshop of Nicholas.

The Eleutherius *châsse* was not an isolated phenomenon but seems rather to be the sole remaining example from a prolific production. At Cambrai, not far from Tournai, were a number of reliquaries now known only through some poor eighteenth century engravings. The chief of these was the shrine of St. Gaugerius (Fig. 9)—*feretrum hodiernum illud ipsum est, in quo Guido de Landuno, episcopus Cameracensis, S. Gaugerici ossa solemmiter transtulit anno MCCXLV*.<sup>16</sup> In other words, this was made only two years before that of St. Eleutherius was completed. Even with only this poor engraving to judge by, one is struck with the comparisons between the two, such as the elaborate cresting (especially the way it ends at the sides), the angels above the arcade, the architectural design between the gables (recalling also those engraved on the rear of the Floeffe triptych), and the borders with enamels in geometric design alternating with oval medallions (almost the

10. All illustrated in O. von Falke and H. Frauberger, *Die Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt, 1904, from which these dates are taken.

11. J.-J. de Smet, *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre*, 1841, II, p. 23, and De Lisle, *Recueil des histoires des Gaules et de la France* (new ed.), XIII, 1869, p. 455.

12. *Bull. soc. hist. et litt. de Tournai*, XXV (1895), p. 12.

13. Borchgrave d'Altena, *Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* (1933), fig. 12. This belongs to Monsieur de Bruyn.

14. Von Falke and Frauberger, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

15. *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

16. J. Ghesquière, *Acta Sanctorum Belgii Selecta*, II, p. 260.

same as on the knop surmounting the Floreffe triptych, and the crockets curving down as on the same). The reliquary for the saint's head illustrated in the succeeding engraving<sup>17</sup> had again the little Romanesque towers as on nearly all these pieces of metalwork and was in turn no doubt from the same hand as the analogous reliquary for the jaw bone engraved alongside it.<sup>18</sup>

Other lost reliquaries once in this region, concerning which we have even less information, give further proof that the metalworkers hereabouts were very active. One in silver gilt was made in 1250 for the head of St. Waudru at St.-Waudru in Mons.<sup>19</sup> Another for St. Bertin at St.-Omer was completed between 1240 and 1264,<sup>20</sup> those of St. Vincent at Soignies about 1261,<sup>21</sup> while St. Vaast's shrine at Arras was enriched in 1230 by Alcuin.<sup>22</sup> Lastly, at Tournai itself the head of St. Eleutherius had a new silver reliquary (unhappily now lost)<sup>23</sup> completed in 1249, two years after the still existing one made for his body.

The figures on the St. Symphorien reliquary recall very closely those apostles in stone on the lower part of the west portal of the cathedral in Tournai.<sup>24</sup> The Floreffe triptych is related to the shrines of St. Eleutherius at Tournai and St. Gaugerius on one hand and those of St. Symphorien and St. Amandus on the other. The latter too has a treelike decoration on the roof which is found again on a cross at Ogy near Tournai.<sup>25</sup> The little shrine in Berlin came from the Minorite convent in Tournai. The Martin Le Roy triptych now in the Louvre has inscriptions in French pointing to a region where French was spoken and we know that such was true of Tournai.<sup>26</sup> Lastly, Mons is not far from Tournai, and two pieces of metalwork under discussion are in that city or nearby. In other words, all these come from Tournai, or are in places not far away and are related to monuments in Tournai; so that it would seem that they were made by an atelier which had its location at Tournai itself rather than in the vague region Entre-Sambre-Meuse, to which they have hitherto been given. During the midthirteenth century, a number of metalworkers lived or worked at Tournai so that such a suggestion is not only possible but probable. Among these metalworkers were Hues li Orfevres in 1240 and 1250, Robiers and Heuris de douai, brothers, in 1268, Chotart Buskart, li Orbevre in 1241, and Colart Busquet in 1285.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps even some of these artists worked on the objects which interest us at this moment.

The apostles along the sides of the St. Amandus reliquary have already been compared with those in sculpture at Tournai and the decoration on the roof with the cross at Ogy. Another link is the saint himself for he was especially honored hereabouts. Born near Nantes in 594, he fled while young to a monastery near Tours, which he refused to leave even when begged by his wealthy parents. Next he went to Bourges, and later to Rome,

17. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

18. The Walters Art Gallery also has a handle for a lamp or incense burner somewhat similar to the knops found in this group of metalwork but of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century (Fig. 11).

19. G. J. Bossu, *Histoire de la ville de Mons*, Mons, 1725, p. 152.

20. Deshaisne, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

21. J. Ghesquière, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 21.

22. A. de Cardevacque and A. Terninck, *L'Abbaye de St.-Vaast*, Arras, 1869, III, p. 138.

23. A. de la Grange and L. Cloquet, *Etudes sur l'art à Tournai*, in *Bull. soc. hist. et litt. de Tournai*, XXI (1888), p. 302, note 1.

24. Walter Ravez, *Tournai, Cité Royale*, Brussels, 1934, pl. opp. p. 48.

25. Reusens, *Notice sur un crucifix de l'église d'Ogy*, in *Bull. soc. hist. et litt. de Tournai*, XII (1868), p. 239.

26. The charters of the region are frequently in French. See de Reiffenberg, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, etc.*, I, no. 103 and 145. It might be pointed out here that the triptych of Sainghin-en-Melantois has many relics like this (see Em. Theodore, *Les objets d'art religieux de l'arrondissement de Lille*, Lille, 1922, pl. XXII), and other reliquaries appear to have been also of this general format (see, for example, the cross of Oisy, A. Terninck, *Arras, Histoire de l'architecture et beaux-arts*, Arras, 1870, p. 97).

27. A. de la Grange and L. Cloquet, *op. cit.*, p. 324.





FIG. 5—Paris, Louvre: Triptych from Floreffe

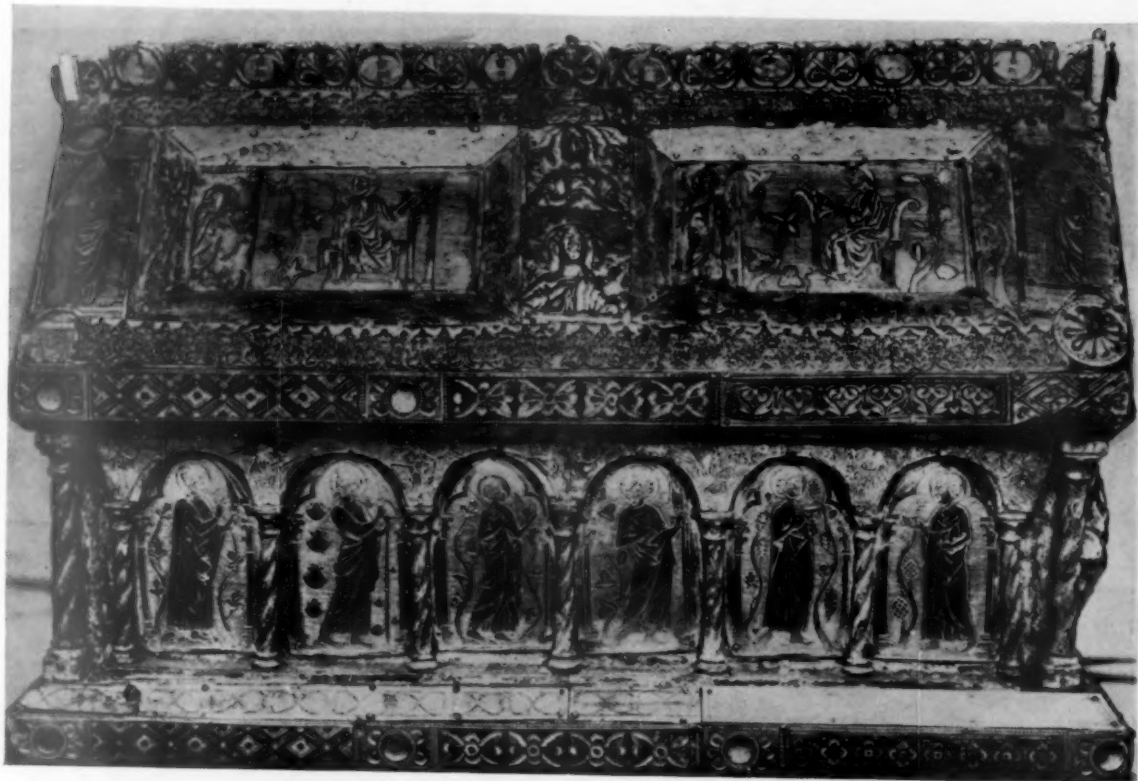


FIG. 6—St.-Symphorien: Reliquary



FIG. 7—*Tournai, Cathedral: Reliquary of St. Eleutherius*



FIG. 8—*St.-Ghislain: Reliquary*

where he was made a missionary to France. He worked particularly in Flanders, where he served as Bishop both of Maastricht and Tournai at different times, and where he founded many churches and monasteries. He also went as a missionary to the Basques and to the Slavs on the Dacian frontier. Finally, at the age of ninety, he died in one of his foundations, at Elnon in the Diocese of Tournai,<sup>28</sup> where he was buried. Many churches in the diocese honor him.

In his testament St. Amandus put a curse upon anyone who removed his remains from the Abbey at Elnon, which bears his name.<sup>29</sup> There his body lay until a translation took place in 809, after the river had risen and inundated the monastery.<sup>30</sup> The relics were again disturbed after a fire in 1066,<sup>31</sup> when the monks carried them about France, doubtless to raise money for the rebuilding of their burned monastery, as I saw it done only a few years ago in Spain. Then again in 1107<sup>32</sup> the relics were taken out, this time to be carried about Brabant where they worked more miracles. On this occasion we have mention of a *châsse*—*facit illuc se deportare ponitur sub feretrum sancti*.<sup>33</sup> In 1152<sup>34</sup> there was still a reliquary at Elnon, for Hugues Abbot had the relics moved from where they were kept to the pavement of the choir following some acts of usurpation which could only have been done if they were in some container which was easily transportable. The special events of 1180 have already been described, when a translation or a new *châsse* may have been prepared.

The next reference is one to the shrines of the Abbey which were carried to Tournai for safe-keeping in 1521.<sup>35</sup> In the eighteenth century, however, Mabillon, speaking of Elnon, wrote: *ubi etiam nunc eius Reliquiae in theca inaurata affabre elaborata offenduntur*,<sup>36</sup> indicating that in his day the relics were in a gilded *châsse* in the monastery.

Although the saint wrote in his testament a curse upon anyone who removed his relics this does not prove that the Walters reliquary is the original and only one from the monastery. However, his relics were scarce, and in 1566<sup>37</sup> the inventory at the cathedral at Tournai makes no mention of any, although that of 1661 does.<sup>38</sup> St. Amand-lez-Courtrai had some of his relics<sup>39</sup> but this particular *châsse* is not described in the inventory.<sup>40</sup> Neither do I find mention of any in the inventories of the neighboring churches.<sup>41</sup> This scarcity does imply that the monks were reluctant to disobey the last injunction of their founder.<sup>42</sup>

The inscription which runs along one side of the reliquary, however, links this *châsse* of St. Amandus up with his monastery at Elnon. In this he is called Blessed Amandus instead of Saint Amandus.<sup>43</sup> According to the *Catholic Encyclopedia* beatification did not

28. Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, February VI; Paul Guérin, *Les vies des saints*, Bar-le-Duc, 1872, II, p. 336; and Paul Piolin, *Supplément*, Paris, I, p. 331.

29. J. Ghesquière, *Acta Sanctorum Belgii*, IV, p. 191.

30. Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, II, p. 184, and J. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Venice, 1733, p. 696.

31. J. Ghesquière, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 273.

32. De Reiffenberg, *Chronique inédite de l'Abbaye de St.-Amand*, in *Acad. Roy. d'Histoire*, Bull., XIII, no. 3, p. 19.

33. *Miracula Sancti Amandi* in Pertz, *op. cit.*, XV (1888), part 2, p. 852.

34. Deshaisne, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

35. J. Cousin, *Histoire de Tournai*, Tournai, 1620, IV, p. 275.

36. J. Mabillon, *op. cit.*, p. 704. Also for another

reference, see J. Ghesquière, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 226.

37. *Note sur l'ancien cathédral de Tournai*, in *Bull. soc. hist. et littér. de Tournai*, VIII (1862), p. 233.

38. Voisin, *Le trésorier et le trésor de la cathédral de Tournai*, in *Bull. soc. hist. et littér. de Tournai*, XI, p. 297.

39. J. Ghesquière, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 226.

40. A. de Poorter, *Le prévôté St.-Amand-lez-Courtrai*, in *Cercle hist. et archéol. de Courtrai* (1905), p. 197.

41. One would expect them at Cambrai in 1401, for example (J. Houdon, *Histoire artistique de la cathédral de Cambrai*, 1880, p. 352).

42. It would not be impossible that the monks invented this injunction to preserve the relics.

43. The complete inscription on the front read probably, "In ista capsula sunt reliquiae B. Amand Eps. et Confess."



have universal significance unless so decreed by the pope and consequently was limited to the diocese. Amandus, a Confessor and not a Martyr, would have been called "Beatus" until his remains had worked two miracles. Curiously enough, although he is called Saint as early as the ninth century, he continued at times to be called Blessed in the manuscripts of the monastery. An explicit quoted in the *Acta Sanctorum*<sup>44</sup> gives evidence of this: *Explicit vita B. Amandi confessoris Christi*. Whether this resulted from the copying of older manuscripts written before the canonization or was just a familiar form used in the monastery, I cannot say. It is doubtful if such a form would be used elsewhere, for other churches or monasteries would be eager to take full advantage of the fact that Amandus had been canonized. From this we can tentatively assume that this reliquary is the very one which held the relics of St. Amandus at Elnon, since it fits in not only with the monuments of the region, with the fact that a gilded ch<sup>^</sup>asse held his remains, but also with the familiar title as employed in the manuscripts of the monastery. Even the fleur-de-lys, which forms such an important feature of decoration on the silver columns, was also used on the seal of the Abbey.<sup>45</sup>

The earlier shrines of the monastery about which we have any information were in more precious metals. In 1122 *abbas gualterius iussit fieri rotundam crucem auream*<sup>46</sup> with the finger of St. Stephen. Between 1124 and 1133 Abbot Absolon, later bishop of Tournai, had a gold *tabula*<sup>47</sup> made to place before the altar of St. Stephen. Galterus (d. 1203) gave a statue of the Virgin in gold, silver and precious stones.<sup>48</sup> But the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries<sup>49</sup> were not always favorable to the monasteries, and most of the shrines were made in less costly metals, which was more in keeping with their spirit and less liable to arouse the cupidity of those not so well endowed. So there is nothing to prevent us from believing this ch<sup>^</sup>asse would not have been made for St. Amandus' relics.

In writing about the evangelist plaque in Belgium, Borchgrave d'Altena assigns it to about 1225-50.<sup>50</sup> When put in its proper place with the St. Amandus reliquary, that it belongs in the second half of the thirteenth century becomes at once evident. We can even go further and assign the chief period of production of this workshop to the third quarter of the century. The Floreffe triptych in the Louvre which is closest to the St. Eleutherius shrine dates after 1254.<sup>51</sup> The Martin Le Roy triptych (Fig. 10) with a figure writing (so close to our evangelists) has represented on it a type of armour which is thought to date after 1260, and this triptych is of approximately the same date as the St. Amandus reliquary.<sup>52</sup> These indications point to about the third quarter of the thirteenth century when the chief pieces were made. The others do not seem far off in date and may be also given to approximately the same time.<sup>53</sup>

44. February VI, p. 897, see also pp. 850, 853, and 869.

45. J. Desilve, *De Schola Elnoni Sancti Amandi*, Louvain, 1890, p. 148: Seal of Abbot William of 1290.

46. *Annales Elnonenses Maiores*, in Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, V, p. 14.

47. De Reiffenberg, *Chronique inédite*, p. 20.

48. *Breve Chronicon*, in J.-J. de Smet, *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre*, II, p. 25.

49. For the shrine of St. Cyricus and a silver crown, see J. Desilve, *De Schola*, pp. 99 (note 2), 118 (note 3), and 155.

50. *Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* (1933), fig. 12.

51. All these monuments show considerable French influence as is to be expected from the history of art in

Belgium (see R. Koechlin, *La sculpture belge et les influences français aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *G. B. A.*, II (1903), p. 5). The Walters Art Gallery has a small Book of Hours from the late thirteenth century which in the sixteenth century, at least, was at Huy and which illustrates admirably this French influence (Fig. 12).

52. Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue raisonné de la collection de M. Le Roy: I, Orfèvrerie et émaillerie*, Paris, 1906, no. 43.

53. The inventories of St.-Amand-d'Elon made in 1663 or 1665 or 1790 might list this reliquary but H. Stoecklein, *St.-Amand; Ein Kunstgeschichtlicher Fuehrer*, Lille, 1917, pp. 10 and 60, does not tell where these are. I have not been able to consult the books of Croix, Pele, De Courmaceul, and De la Froise, on St.-Amand.

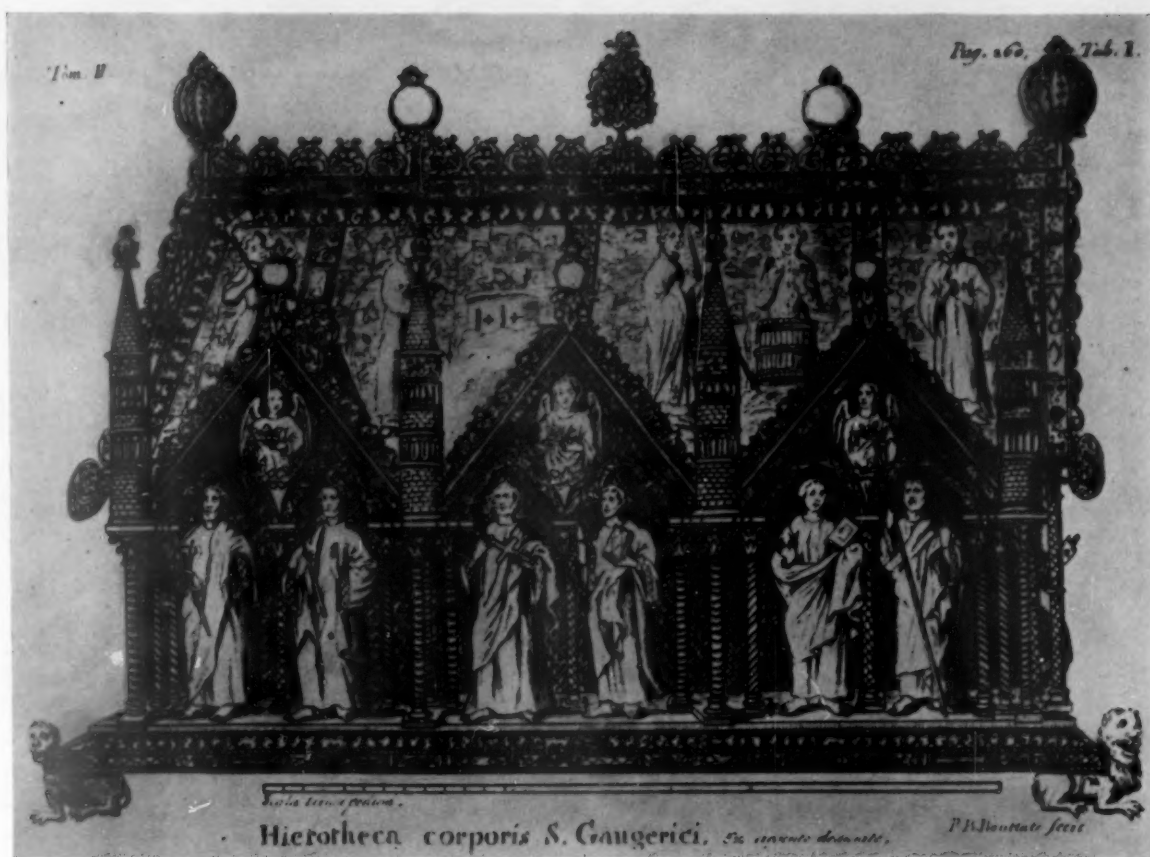


FIG. 9—Cambrai: Lost Reliquary for Body of St. Gaugerius



FIG. 10—Paris, Louvre:  
Detail of  
Martin Le Roy Triptych



FIG. 11—Handle of Lamp



FIG. 12—MS. 37,  
Descent from Cross

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



FIG. 1—Ivory Diptych

Rome, Vatican Library, Museo Cristiano



FIG. 2—Leaf of Ivory Diptych



## A GROUP OF GOTHIC IVORIES IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

By C. R. MOREY

THE ivories selected for treatment in this article, out of the wealth of Gothic ivory-carving contained in the Walters collection, have in common a peculiar treatment of the Crucifixions represented upon them, in that the breast of the Virgin, swooning in the arms of one or more of the Holy Women beside the Cross, is pierced by a sword, or (in four of the six examples) by a jet of blood that issues from the lance-wound in the side of the Crucified. The series, with the exception of the last in the list, consists of pieces which are customarily and somewhat hurriedly catalogued in all museums as "French—XIV Century," and one of them (no. 3) was actually so classified by inclusion in Koechlin's great corpus of "French" Gothic Ivories.<sup>1</sup>

Koechlin's work is one of the most useful tools that is available to the student of mediaeval art, and whatever error has been propagated by it with respect to the ultimate provenance of Gothic ivories is far outweighed by the great service done by its author in gathering together the bulk of this extensive category of mediaeval minor art. The maker of a corpus is forced to classify, and rarely escapes the temptation to classify for the sake of classification, and to apply in consequence his determining criteria beyond legitimate limits. Koechlin's fundamental criterion was that aspect of Gothic works which may be described quite adequately by the Italian *francesismo*—French style, whether authentic or imitated. By this process, since the outstanding quality of English, German, Spanish, and even Italian work in the minor arts during the fourteenth century was the imitation of the formulae of the decadent French cathedral style, and since the vast majority of Gothic ivories date within the fourteenth century, practically all the ivories in Koechlin's corpus become "French." A few items are credited to England, very few to Italy or Germany.

In addition to this general labeling of fourteenth century ivories as "French," unconvincing *prima facie*, the principle of subdivision is faulty as well. Koechlin's "ateliers" are established mostly on the basis of externals: the type of architectural framework, particular motifs of ornaments, or mere sequences of iconography. The method pursued is evident from the titles given the groups thus achieved: "diptyques à décor de roses," "diptyques à frises d'arcatures," "diptyques à colonnettes," "les grands diptyques de la Passion." Yet such features are the obvious outer marks of *francesismo*, the easiest to imitate, and hence the least trustworthy indications of ultimate provenance. An example of the artificiality of Koechlin's subdivision is afforded by two ivories in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library (Figs. 1 and 2). The diptych reproduced in Fig. 1 is assigned by Koechlin to the atelier of "les grands diptyques de la Passion," the diptych leaf of Fig. 2 to the workshop that produced the "diptyques à colonnettes." The merest glance at the two ivories reveals their community of atelier; no two workshops could have arrived at the identity of the scenes, on both pieces, of the Resurrection and the Noli Me Tangere. Both ivories are of course dubbed French by Koechlin, but the attribution does not withstand an analysis of

1. R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français*, Paris, 1924, no. 569, pl. C.

the iconography of the diptych of Fig. 1 in the one point where it departs from traditional French usage, viz., the peculiar representation of the Trinity in the upper left compartment of the right leaf.

The first feature that catches the eye of the iconographer as unusual is the lozenge-shaped glory, surrounded by the four beasts symbolic of the evangelists, which bounds the group of the Trinity. The motif is rare, but recurs in an ivory diptych which in 1929 was in the possession of the dealer Demotte,<sup>2</sup> and which further shows an atelier relation to the Vatican example by its use of the same sort of colonnettes that divide the scenes from one another, and the same bifurcated and spiraled beard in its renderings of old men. In both pieces the Virgin suckles the Child; on the Vatican ivory in the scene of the Nativity; on the Demotte diptych in a representation of the Madonna crowned by angels. This combination of nursing Virgin and crowning angels in turn, is discovered on a plaque in Berlin which Vöge and Volbach assign to Cologne, and which even Koechlin qualifies as "une transposition germanique d'un type français."<sup>3</sup>

The lozenge-shaped glory is therefore by inference a symptom of German workmanship. A more certain symptom of the same provenance is the Child who replaces the usual Crucified in the arms of God the Father, as the second Person in the Trinity. The Trinity in mediaeval iconography has recently been studied by Adelheid Heimann,<sup>4</sup> who shows that the Child motif is of Byzantine origin, and is of rare occurrence in Latin art, where it is mainly confined to the Spanish Romanesque, and German and Bohemian Gothic. In French art its début is late, to judge from the earliest French example Heimann cites, which is to be found in a missal of the Morgan Library (MS. 331), dating c. 1400 and executed for the use of Châlons-sur-Marne (Fig. 13). The miniature presents the Trinity as a bearded Father holding the Child (*crucifer* here) on His knee, while the Dove spreads its wings between the mouths of the other two Persons.

The preceding discussion lies somewhat apart from the Walters ivories, but serves to show the sort of analysis that must be undertaken in order to substitute something approaching a valid classification of Gothic ivories for the superficial sorting-out which they received at the hands of Koechlin, indispensable though his corpus may be. Such analysis will ordinarily be painfully slow and difficult, for documentary evidence is almost entirely lacking. It must pursue the traces of local iconographic usage, as in the case just discussed, and sift out the symptoms of style that can be relied upon to show whether a piece is really French, or a German, English, Italian, or Spanish imitation. Technique will sometimes help, as in the case of Italian Gothic ivories, which, while they sometimes copy the characteristic French diagonally inserted flanges for the swivel hinging of diptychs, triptychs, and polyptychs, occasionally relapse into their native and more simple device of hinges made of wire links. The principal basis for the reclassification of Gothic ivories, however, will certainly be the iconography thereof, as the local differences in late mediaeval renderings become clearer through the work of Panofsky and his pupils.

It is such iconographic analysis that affords the clue to the German provenance of five of our Baltimore ivories, and to the German influence on the rendering of the Crucifixion

2. *Bulletin of the Memorial Art Gallery*, Rochester, N. Y., II (1929), no. 2, p. 5.

3. W. F. Volbach, *Staatliche Museum zu Berlin: Die Bildwerke des Deutschen Museums: Elfenbeinbilder*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1923, p. 50, no. 670, pl. 55; Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 622 bis, pl. CIII.

4. A. Heimann, *L'iconographie de la Trinité*, in *L'art chrétien*, I (Oct. 1934), p. 87 ff., and *Der Meister des "Grandes heures de Rohan" und seine Werkstatt* (diss.), Hamburg, 1932, pp. 42 ff. My thanks are due to Erwin Panofsky for calling my attention to the above titles.



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5

*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Ivory Diptychs*





FIG. 6—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Lateral Wings of Ivory Polyptych*



FIG. 7—*Right Leaf of Ivory Diptych*



FIG. 8—*Right Leaf of Ivory Diptych*

*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery*



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5

*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Ivory Diptychs*



FIG. 6—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Lateral Wings of Ivory Polyptych*



FIG. 7—*Right Leaf of Ivory Diptych*



FIG. 8—*Right Leaf of Ivory Diptych*

*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery*



in the sixth. Our group may be listed as follows, in probable order of dating; all but the last can be dated within the limits of the last two-thirds of the fourteenth century.

1. Diptych, cm. 6.6 x 4.5, bought from Harding (London), 1899. Adoration of the Magi, Crucifixion (Fig. 4).
2. Diptych, cm. 20.2 x 13.0, ex-coll. Waroquier (Toulouse), Bardac; bought from A. Seligmann, 1922. *Bull. soc. archéologique du Midi*, 1901, p. 326; Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 569, pl. C, Madonna & angels, Crucifixion (Fig. 3). A very similar diptych is in the Victoria & Albert Museum (no. XII in the list on p. 209, Longhurst, *Victoria & Albert Museum: Cat. of Carvings in Ivory*, London 1927-29, II, no. 294-1867, pl. XXII).
3. Diptych, cm. 5.9 x 4.2, bought from J. Seligmann (Paris), 1912. Coronation of the Virgin; Crucifixion (Fig. 5).
4. Right leaf of a diptych, cm. 11.5 x 7.0, ex-coll. Homberg. Crucifixion; Martyrdom of Thomas à Becket (Fig. 8).
5. Lateral wings of a polyptych, each leaf cm. 6.0 x 1.87, bought from A. Seligmann, 1923. Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, the Washing of Feet, the Last Supper, Gethsemane, the Betrayal, Christ bearing the Cross, Crucifixion (Fig. 6).
6. Right leaf of a diptych, cm. 10.3 x 9.0. Crucifixion (Fig. 7).

The iconographic detail that interests us in these ivories was mentioned at the beginning of this article. In nos. 1, 2, 3, 6 the Virgin receives a jet of blood in her breast from the wounded side of Christ on the Cross; in nos. 4 and 5, the jet of blood is replaced by a sword.

The latter motif can be traced through Gothic art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in a series of examples which by no means exhaust the material but are sufficiently numerous and representative to show that the sword piercing the heart of the Virgin in the Crucifixion is of German origin as an artistic type, and characteristic of German usage at the time (latter half of the fourteenth century) that our ivories were carved. The list follows:

#### *Miniatures in manuscripts*

- I. Maihingen, MS. I, 2, 8vo, 6, from the Dominican nunnery of Hirschthal, dating after 1254.
- II. Maihingen, MS. I, 4to, lat. 24, from the monastery of Eichstätt in the diocese of Bamberg, dating c. 1250.
- III. Mainz ?, private possession, MS. dating c. 1260.
- IV. Maihingen (formerly), collection of Prince von Oettingen; a psalter from Regensburg, second half of the thirteenth century.
- V. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 729, psalter of Yolande de Soissons, c. 1280-1290 (Fig. 9).
- VI. Nuremberg Germanisches Museum, Kupferstichkabinett, miniature cut from a German MS. of the end of the thirteenth century.
- VII. Düsseldorf, MS. 331, from the Cistercian monastery of Blatzheim on the lower Rhine (founded in 1257); thirteenth or fourteenth century.
- VIII. Toulouse, Bibliothèque, MS. 103 ("missel des Jacobins"), fol. 133v, thirteenth or fourteenth century.
- IX. Gotha I, 122, fol. 63v. French missal of the second half of the fourteenth century.

- X. Darmstadt, MS. of the fourteenth century: "Tree of Life," in whose lower left medallion we find the fainting Virgin supported in the arms of John, surrounded by an inscription recording the prophecy of Simeon in Luke ii, 35: "Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius," "Yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also"; Simeon (Symon) kneels in adoration of the Crucifixion, fulfilment of his prophecy, in the right lower corner of the miniature (Fig. 10; from Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, II, 2, fig. 192).
- XI. Illustration of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Lutz and Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, Leipzig, 1907, pl. 91).
- XII. Admont, Styria, German or Austrian MS. of the fourteenth century (P. Buberl, *Die Stiftsbibliotheken zu Admont und Vorau*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 96, fig. 122).

#### Paintings

- XIII. Regensburg, Domschatz, panel of a casket, c. 1260.
- XIV. Lübeck, Heiliggeistspital, fresco dating c. 1300 (A. Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, Berlin, 1934, I, p. 120, fig. 116).
- XV. Schwerin, Landesmuseum, German "Hinterglasbild" of the fourteenth century (Stange, *op. cit.*, p. 119, fig. 117).
- XVI. Pamplona, cathedral, Spanish retable of the fourteenth century (C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, II, fig. 119).
- XVII. Cologne, Minoritenkirche, fresco on the east wall, mid-fourteenth century (Clemen, *Die gotischen Monumentalmalereien der Rheinlande*, Düsseldorf, 1930, pp. 222 ff., pl. 53).

#### Textile

- XVIII. Regensburg, Domschatz, embroidered altar-frontal with the donor figure of Bishop Henry II of Regensburg (1277-1296).

#### Ivories of the XIV century

- XIX. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, leaf of a diptych (Fig. 8).
- XX. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, leaves of a polyptych (Fig. 6).
- XXI. Bayonne, Bonnat collection (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 430).
- XXII. Berlin, Deutsches Museum, triptych; the sword, piercing the heart of the Virgin, is presented as a separate symbol, along with Veronica's kerchief and the Holy Face (Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen: Die Elfenbeinbildwerke*, by Wm. Vöge, Berlin, 1900-1902, no. 131; Volbach, *op. cit.*, p. 50, no. 674, pl. 55). Both Vöge and Volbach assign the triptych to Germany.
- XXIII. Darmstadt, Landesmuseum (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 616).
- XXIV. Leningrad, Botkine collection (*Catalogue of the Botkine Collection*, in Russian, Leningrad, 1911, pl. 56).
- XXV. Lyon, Baboin collection (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 613, pl. LII).<sup>5</sup>

5. The above list is in great part assembled from unpublished photographs and notes kindly furnished the writer by Erwin Panofsky, Adelheid Heimann, Hans

Swarzenski, and Mr. Marvin Ross of the Walters Art Gallery.

The provenance of the items in the above list is predominantly German, and, what is more significant, almost entirely so as to its examples of the thirteenth century, indicating that the motif originated in Germany, and that the non-German examples reflect its later expansion. To be noted also is the existence of a motif of similar purpose but of different iconographic embodiment, in Italy, where the painted crucifixes often show Mary receiving the blood on her hands.<sup>6</sup> In the one exception, wherein the sword pierces the breast of the Virgin, this variant is described by Sandberg-Vavalà as "elemento oltremontano, forse tedesco;"<sup>7</sup> a curious variant of the Italian motif<sup>8</sup> is found among the drawings by Opicinus de Canistris (b. 1296 near Pavia; active at Avignon after 1328) in Cod. Pal. lat. 1993 of the Vatican Library (cf. pl. 18 in the forthcoming edition of this manuscript by R. Salomon)—from the crucified Christ two rays fall upon the Virgin, one a thin line that goes to her mouth, the other thicker, falling on her veiled hands; the rays seem to represent in their differentiation the water and blood.

The source of the German sword-motif in the Crucifixion is without much doubt the Dominican mysticism of the Rhineland. On this subject I can do no better than to quote a courteous and valuable communication from Dr. Hans Swarzenski: "The motif of Mary with the sword in her breast is apparently, so far as concerns its artistic origin, of German derivation. For such putative provenance it seems to be significant that the apparently earliest examples come from Dominican or Cistercian monasteries, or at least are connected with the Saint of the [Dominican] order. Without attempting to follow the history of the motif in detail, one may point out the following possible interrelations—the 'Vision of the Dominican monk' of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* shows as its representation of the first of the Seven Sorrows of Mary (Lutz and Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, pl. 89), a Dominican with a sword in his breast, opposite the Presentation in the Temple (!). The suggestion is near of a connection with the execution of the Dominican Peter Martyr in 1244. The relation to the Presentation is brought out by the qualifying of Mary as 'Du scharpfes Swert hern symonis,' according to Luke ii, 35 (cf. A. Salzer, *Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens*, Linz, 1888, p. 546). This sword or knife which is held by Simeon, especially often in Italian renderings of the Presentation in the eleventh century (e.g. in the sacramentary of Ivrea or the Gospel-book of Matilda of Tuscany, Morgan 27), appears transfixing the heart of Mary in a fresco of the Presentation in Mühlhausen (Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 32), and in the Italian version of the *Speculum* of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Mary with the sword in heart takes the place of the monk, beside the Presentation."

Nicholas Love's version of Bonaventura's *Meditationes*<sup>9</sup> quaintly expresses the connection of the sword motif with Simeon's prophecy, as follows: "And after sche hadde caugt spirite and byhelde hir sone so greuously wounded was also wounded in hert with a newe wounde of sorwe . . . wherfore now is fulfilled in her that Symeon saide to her prophecienge longe tyme bifore—*Tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius* . . . But now sothely the swerde of his spere hath persede bothe the body of the sone and the soule of the moder."

The connection admirably pointed out in Dr. Swarzenski's communication of the Simeon-sword-Mary nexus with Dominican mysticism is amply supported by the constant

6. Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione*, Verona, 1929, figs. 97, 364, 430, 514.

7. Worcester Art Museum, painted crucifix of the fourteenth century, Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, p. 151, fig. 117.

8. Pointed out to me by Erwin Panofsky.

9. *The Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, ed. Powell, Oxford, 1908, p. 246.



allusion to the same concept in that collection of Dominican imagery known as the *Piissima Exercitia*, which, while attributed without good reason to Tauler, nevertheless reflects Dominican thought and expression in the Rhenish monasteries of the fourteenth century. Examples are: "thy Holy Mother, racked by inward compassion in like manner with thee upon the Cross, and fastened thereto by nails, and her tender heart, and true mother's breast, pierced with the sword of sharp sorrow;" "the sword of sorrow pierced her through and through;" "how much wert thou crucified together with Him, and didst inwardly receive all his wounds;" "and indeed, on this day, thy brave heart was pierced, not once only, but more than a hundred times;" "wounded together with thy Son;" "pierced so many times with the sword of sorrow."<sup>10</sup> The lance also plays its part in the imagery—"for Thou alone [Christ], by the lance of thy compassion, hast searched into the weight and grievousness of her [Mary's] woes, which to all men are simply beyond understanding"; "yet who can grasp in thought how fearfully this lance pierced and wounded the devout soul of his tender Mother Mary, whose soul and heart dwelt, indeed, in the Body of her dear Son, who was her whole love and treasure."<sup>11</sup>

The step from the sword to the jet of blood flowing from Christ's side to the Virgin's breast was a short and easy one for such loose and emotional symbolism as is reflected in the passages quoted above. The literature of German Dominican mysticism provides in fact the usual parallel for this motif, as well, in a passage from the *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit* of Heinrich Suso: "Wende ich dann meine Augen zu der reinen Mutter, so sehe ich das zarte Herz durchwundet . . . O weh und o weh, du reines Blut, wie rinnt du so heiss herab auf die Mutter, die dich gebär! . . . alle reine Herzen, lasst euch zu Herzen gehen das rosenfarbene reine Blut, dass die reine Mutter also begiesst!"<sup>12</sup>

The jet of blood in nos. 1, 2, 3, and 6 of our Baltimore group of ivories proves then to be, like the sword in Mary's breast, a detail of iconography inspired by Dominican thought and preaching in the Rhineland of the fourteenth century, and therefore a valid indication of German origin for the ivories which present it as a motif of the Crucifixion. A list of such ivories follows:

- I. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, diptych (Fig. 4).
- II. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ex-coll. Waroquier, Bardac, diptych (Fig. 3).
- III. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, diptych (Fig. 5).
- IV. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, right leaf of diptych (Fig. 7).
- V. Berlin, Deutsches Museum, diptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 325; Vöge, *op. cit.*, nos. 97, 98).
- VI. Florence, Museo Nazionale, left leaf of diptych (*Rev. de l'art chrét.*, 1911, p. 392).
- VII. Florence, Museo Nazionale, diptych (Florence, *R. Museo Nazionale, Collection Carrand du Bargello*, Rome, 1895, pl. 16).
- VIII. Frankfurt a/M, Kunstgewerbemuseum, right leaf of diptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 278 *bis*).
- IX. Kremsmünster, Austria, abbey treasury, diptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 824).
- X. Leningrad, Stieglitz Museum, right leaf of diptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 784).

10. *Meditations on the Life and Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ* . . ., trans. from the Latin by A. P. J. Cruickshank, D.D., 4th ed., New York, 1925, pp. 268, 270, 271.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 323; these passages were called

to my attention by Mr. William Forsyth of the Metropolitan Museum.

12. W. Lehmann, *Heinrich Seuses Deutsche Schriften*, Jena, 1922, II, pp. 65, 66.



FIG. 9—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: *Crucifixion*, MS. 729

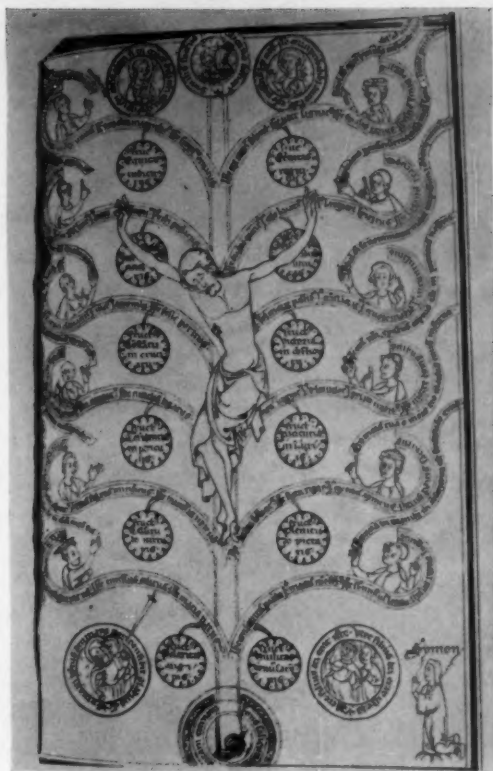


FIG. 10—Darmstadt, Bibliothek: *"Tree of Life"*



FIG. 11—Rome, Vatican Library, Museo Cristiano: *Ivory Diptych*



FIG. 12—Freiburg, Cathedral:  
Baruch



FIG. 13—New York, Pierpont Morgan  
Library: Trinity, MS. 331

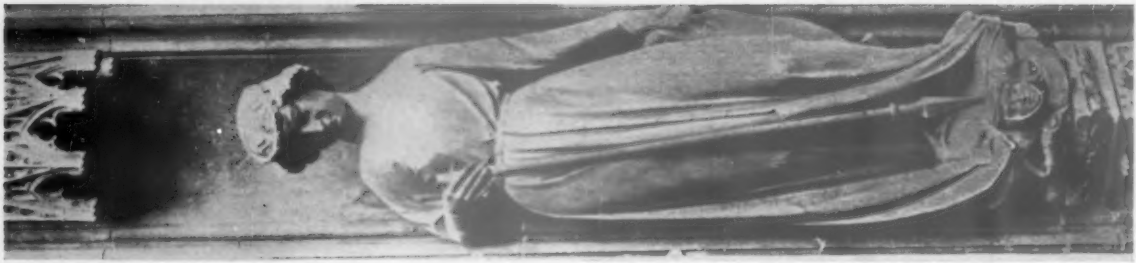


FIG. 14—Strassburg,  
Cathedral: A Virtue



- XI. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, triptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 481).
- XII. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, diptych (Longhurst, *op. cit.*, II, no. 294-1867, pl. XXII).
- XIII. Madrid, Lazaro Collection, diptych (*La Coleccion Lazaro*, Madrid, 1926, II, p. 66, no. 526).
- XIV. Münster i/W, Kunstverein, diptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 334).
- XV. Paris, Musée de Cluny, diptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 471).
- XVI. Paris, Louvre, triptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 315).
- XVII. Paris, Louvre, triptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 292).
- XVIII. Paris, Louvre, right leaf of diptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 431).
- XIX. Paris, Maignan collection, diptych (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 827; *Les Arts*, Nov., 1906).
- XX. Paris, ex-coll. Manzi, diptych (Koechlin, I, p. 295, considers this a forgery; *Les Arts*, 1919, no. 177, p. 23).
- XXI. Rome, Vatican Library, Museo Cristiano, diptych (Fig. 11; Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 472).
- XXII. Sigmaringen, Hohenzollern Museum, right leaf of diptych (*Die Bildwerke der Sammlung Sigmaringen*, Stuttgart and Zürich, 1925, pl. 7).

In this list nos. IX, XI, XIII, XVI, XVII, and XXI present a motif in the Adoration of the Magi which is a variation from the standard French Gothic type. In the latter the second Magus always turns his head back toward the third Wise Man, and points to the star above the Madonna with an arm that crosses the body; no. 1 of the Baltimore ivories has followed this formula (Fig. 4). But in the divergent group the second Magus does not cross his body with the pointing arm, and this manner of depicting him is frequent in German renderings of the Epiphany in the fourteenth century (Fig. 11). It is found for instance in miniatures and windows of that period that illustrate the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*; <sup>13</sup> in painting it is employed in frescoes of St. Andreas and St. Cäcilia at Cologne, of the cathedral at Wetzlar and the parish church of Mühlheim am Eis, and on a Cologne panel in the Louvre; <sup>14</sup> in stone sculpture it appears in the tympanum of the Frauenkirche at Esslingen, the Kapellenturm at Rottweil, and the Heiligenkreuzkirche at Gmünd (northwest portal); <sup>15</sup> in carved wood we find it in a relief of the episcopal museum at Breslau and another of the Annakapelle at Windischborau. <sup>16</sup> Along with other details of German Gothic imagery it finds its way into North Italian art, <sup>17</sup> as we shall see was also the case with the jet of blood in the Crucifixion of the sixth of our Walters ivories.

To the indications of German provenance for the Walters group that have been furnished by the iconographic details of the sword and jet of blood in the Crucifixion, and the German Magus in the Epiphany, we may add a bit of stylistic evidence. This is afforded by the peculiar facial type employed in nos. I, II, XI, XII, XVI and XVII (and fairly well represented in Fig. 3), in which the eyes are marked with a blocky iris or eyeball and

13. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, clm. 146 (Lutz and Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, II, pls. 17, 95); *ibid.* clm. 23433 (Lutz and Perdrizet, II, pl. 99); window in S. Stefan at Mühlhausen (Lutz and Perdrizet, II, pl. 103).

14. Clemen, *Die gotischen Monumentalmalereien der Rheinlande*, Düsseldorf, 1930, p. 157, pl. 29; pp. 133 ff., pl. 21; p. 132, fig. 164; p. 30, fig. 32; p. 43, figs. 56-59.

15. Beenken, *Bildhauer des XIV. Jahrhunderts am*

*Rhein und in Schwaben*, Leipzig, 1927, figs. 117, 120, 124.

16. H. Braune and E. Wiese, *Schlesische Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters, Kritischer Katalog der Ausstellung in Breslau 1926*, nos. 17, 52.

17. Cf., e.g., the Epiphany in an initial of an antiphonary of the chapter library at Verona (van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923—, IV, fig. 207).

set so close together as to produce a cross-eyed effect, the ridge of the nose curves inward so that the nose itself seems to turn up at the extremity, the eyebrows are arched and tilted, and the whole effect extremely artificial.<sup>18</sup> But its very artificiality allies it with Rhenish work of the fourteenth century; the best parallels for it can be found in the apostles of the choir of Cologne cathedral and the prophets of the end of the thirteenth century on the principal western portal of Strassburg, with their derivatives, the prophets in the archivolt of the main portal of Freiburg. Indeed the characteristic "prophet" of these ivory Crucifixions very closely reproduces in features, headdress, scroll and pointing arm the figure of Baruch at Freiburg (Fig. 12). The type of female and youthful male head on these ivories is very closely allied, in tilted brows, almond eyes, and heavy cheeks and jaw, to the heads of the Virtues and Wise Virgins on the west front of Strassburg (Fig. 14).

The preceding discussion has made clear, it is hoped, that nos. 1-5 of the group of Walters ivories are to be extricated from the too broad classification of Koechlin and more narrowly catalogued as German works, imitative of French style it is true, but even in this respect retaining some stamp of their origin, and in iconography betraying in a most interesting way the impression on the art of the Rhineland made by the powerful mystic movement in South Germany of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which found expression in the writings and sermons of Tauler and Suso, and in the introduction into mediaeval iconography of such stimuli to emotional contemplation of the Passion as the sword and jet of blood which served to symbolize the co-suffering of the Mother with Her Son. The Walters Art Gallery is fortunate in having more of these examples than any other collection; it is evident that recognition of their German provenance will entail the attribution of many other ivories to the same source, and speed the highly desirable splitting-up of Koechlin's "French" corpus into its proper local subdivisions.

The inventions of the German artists found their way abroad, as might be expected. We have already seen that the sword-motif appears on a painted crucifix in the Worcester Art Museum, of Italian origin and fourteenth century date, as an evidently German importation, since the customary Italian iconography of such crucifixes represented the Virgin receiving Christ's blood upon her hands, expressing the same idea in a different and local way. We have noted also that the widespread gesture of the German Magus in the Adoration of the Magi finds its way into Italy. A further example of this infiltration of German Gothic iconography into the peninsula, and especially into its northern portion, is the last of our group of Walters ivories, no. 6 in the list (Fig. 7).

The group to which this ivory belongs has the distinction of exclusion by Koechlin<sup>19</sup> from his general category of "ivoires gothiques français." He assigns the group to Italy, as a late product of an Italian atelier, "où, sous des architectures pueriles, semble expirer la tradition giottesque." Others have considered it German. The best publication of the group is due to D. D. Egbert<sup>20</sup> who assembled a list of eight examples around and including a diptych in the Innes collection and a triptych in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library (Figs. 15-17). Egbert's list follows:<sup>21</sup>

18. By some this type of face is regarded as the carver's attempt to indicate a Jewish racial type (e.g. by Longhurst, *op. cit.*, II, 1929, p. 24, pl. XIV), since it is most conspicuous in the faces of the prophets in pointed caps and holding scrolls who appear as witnesses of the Crucifixion. An excellent example is afforded by the Vatican ivory reproduced in Fig. 11.

19. R. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, I, p. 349, note 1.

20. D. D. Egbert, *North Italian Gothic Ivories in the Museo Cristiano*, in *Art Studies*, 1929, pp. 175 ff.

21. All the ivories in this list are illustrated in Egbert's article, where also will be found the relative bibliography.

- I. London, Innes Collection, diptych—Madonna and Saints, Flagellation, Crucifixion.
- II. Rome, Vatican Library, Museo Cristiano, triptych—Crucifixion, Resurrection, Madonna and the Apostles (Figs. 15-17).
- III. London, British Museum, left leaf of a diptych—The Woman Taken in Adultery.
- IV. Berlin, Deutsches Museum, leaf of diptych or triptych—St. Anthony and Madonna.
- V. Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, right leaf of diptych or triptych—Sts. Bartholomew, James Major, Anthony Abbot.
- VI. Cologne, Schnütgen Collection, diptych—Sts. Anthony Abbot, John Baptist, Catherine of Alexandria, the Magdalen; Crucifixion.
- VII. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, triptych—Sts. Margaret and Catherine, Adoration of the Magi (with head of God the Father above, from whose mouth the Dove descends to the Child upon the Virgin's knee), Two Female Saints.
- VIII. Munich, Nationalmuseum, left wing of diptych or triptych, in two registers—above, the Madonna with Sts. Paul and Peter; below, Sts. Helena, Ursula, Clara.

To the above list are possibly to be added (though not included, as objects not seen, by Egbert, in the above list):

- IX. Collection of Lord Crawford, plaque—Adoration of the Magi (Egbert, *op. cit.*, p. 180, note 3).
- X. Paris, Musée de Cluny, diptych—Four Saints (Egbert, p. 182, note 1).
- XI. Paris, Hunziker collection, plaque—Baptism of Christ (Egbert, p. 182, note 1).

The group has been assigned by Egbert to North Italy and the early fifteenth century, with the probability that the producing atelier was Venetian, the conclusion resting on a variety of evidence of which a few points may be repeated here.

The arabesque painted on some of the pieces that retain their polychromy is similar to those on a wooden relief at Murano.<sup>22</sup> A style closely related to that of the group is found in an ivory triptych in the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>23</sup> whose Venetian provenance is attested by the half-figures protruding from the leaf-croquets of the raking gable of the central plaque—a feature of Venetian sculptural ornament illustrated by a relief in the Abbazia della Misericordia<sup>24</sup> and the tomb of Michele Morosini in SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The hinging of the diptychs and triptychs of the group is not of the diagonally inserted flange type used north of the Alps, but the wire link variety employed by the Embriachi ateliers active in Venice at the end of the fourteenth and in the early fifteenth century. The rounded corrugation of the drapery is another characteristic linking these ivories with Embriachi work, as are also the "long, pointed trees with their formalized horizontal divisions" (Egbert; cf. Figs. 15-17). The sharp lopping-off of the feet of Christ in the Crucifixion (e.g., in the Vatican triptych, Figs. 15-17) is characteristic of North Italian ivory and bone carving as are also the peculiar square fleurons used as an ornamental motif on the Innes piece and other members of the group.

The use of God the Father and the Holy Ghost in connection with the Adoration of the Magi on the Vienna triptych (no. VII) is noted by Egbert as a very rare motif, but found in a fifteenth century Venetian painting of indeterminate authorship illustrated by Testi in

22. Egbert, *op. cit.*, fig. 4.

23. *Ibid.*, fig. 12.

24. *Ibid.*, fig. 13.



his *Storia della pittura veneziana* (Bergamo, 1909-1915, II, p. 324). The Child as the second Person in the Trinity was mentioned above as a symptom of German iconographic practice, and here we meet with a familiar phenomenon of North Italian late Gothic art in its constant receptiveness to German stylistic and iconographic innovations. The Walters Crucifixion provides another example of this in its adoption of the motif of the jet of blood in the breast of Mary, and adds still another number to the interesting group assembled by Egbert.

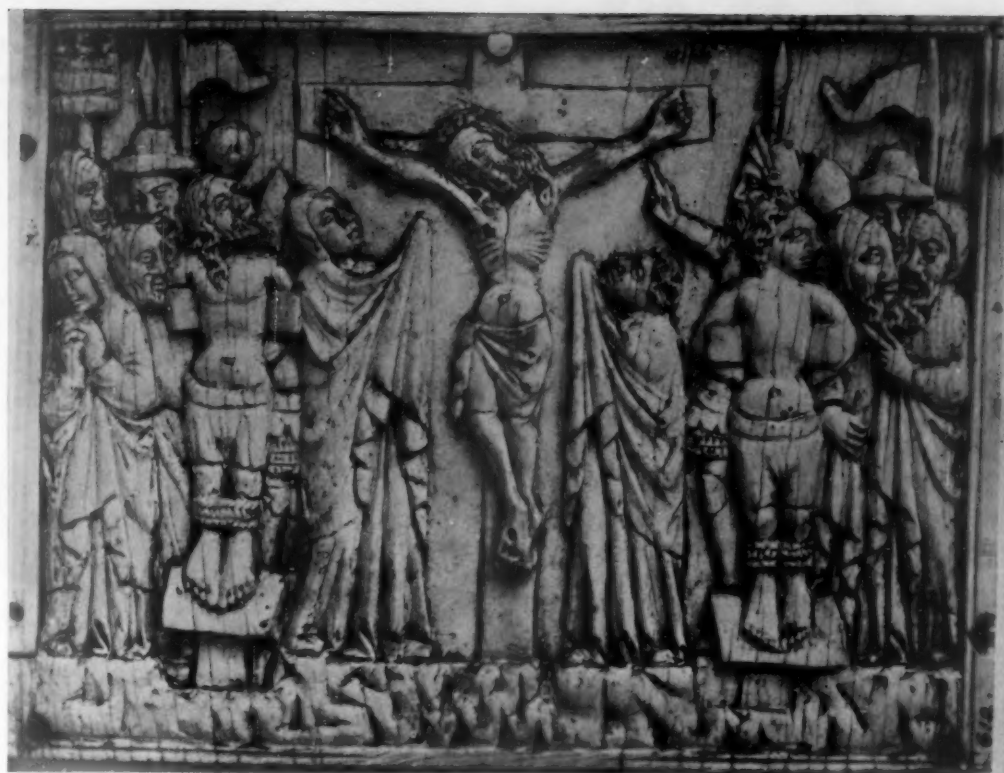


FIG. 15



FIG. 16



FIG. 17

*Rome, Vatican Library, Museo Cristiano: Ivory Triptych*



FIG. 1—*Story of Hippi*



FIG. 2—*Story of Hippi*, Infra-red Photograph of Fig. 1  
 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Cassone Painting, School of Giovanni di Paolo



# NOTES ON THE PAINTINGS BY GIOVANNI DI PAOLO IN THE WALTERS COLLECTION

By EDWARD S. KING

THE many paintings associated with the name of Giovanni di Paolo present a number of problems, both within themselves, on account of their varying character, and in their connections with the works of other painters and schools, on account of Giovanni's eclecticism, which is, for the most part, an iconographic consideration. His place in the movement known as the International Style also involves a number of nice questions. The present discussion is limited as regards continued first-hand acquaintance, to the several examples of Giovanni's style in the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore; attention to other works here and there has been largely restricted, perforce, to photographic reproductions.

The questions which arose when the Walters paintings were considered among themselves are investigated in the following section from the angle of technique, and it is hoped that the local data revealed from this investigation will be suggestive, at least, toward a closer and more intimate view of Giovanni's methods and procedures. It is not the intention of this examination to include all the technical means available today for the scientific study of works of art, but only the use of such means as time and the present position of the Technical Department of the Walters Gallery allowed, and notably the instruments of X-ray and infra-red reproduction.<sup>1</sup> The technical work of the Walters Gallery is carried out along the same lines as that of the older Technical Department of the Fogg Art Museum with which the Walters Department enjoys a close association.

The second section comprises comment on what has been published about the Walters paintings and a number of observations and notes which arise therefrom. These matters of history and style can be somewhat the more narrowly regarded from the standpoint of the results obtained in the first section on technique.

## I.

The paintings in the Walters collection which have heretofore impartially enjoyed, one and all, the name of Giovanni di Paolo as author, are as follows. There are four predella panels with the scenes of the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, the Resurrection of Lazarus and Christ Carrying the Cross (Figs. 3, 4, 5 and 6). Another panel figures a Crucifixion of the devotional type, with Sts. Jerome as cardinal, John the Baptist, Ansanus and Francis, besides the Virgin, the Magdalen and St. John (Fig. 14). A third work formed the front of a cassone and is an illustration of the story of Hippo (Fig. 1). The fourth and last work associated with the name of Giovanni di Paolo in the Walters

1. In regard to the advantages to be gained from cooperation between the art historian, the critic of style and the technical research worker, see the review by

H. A. Lyon in *Technical Studies* (Fogg Art Museum), I (July, 1932), pp. 51-52.

collection is an altarpiece with the Virgin and Child, Sts. Nicholas, Galganus, etc. (Figs. 11 and 12).

When these paintings were considered together certain differences in quality and craftsmanship made themselves apparent. The four predella pieces looked to be without question better works than the cassone panel and the altarpiece, the drawing and the painstaking rendering of detail being appreciably superior. The Hippo panel has the obvious features of Giovanni's manner, but the drawing appeared to be hasty and sketchy, the plant forms rapidly and casually brushed in, the sugar-loaf hills summarily rounded off and only the architectural forms, drawn with the customary aid of a rule, seemed to approach the requirements of careful craftsmanship characteristic of Giovanni's better work. The apparent quality of the Crucifixion panel indicated that its place was definitely more with the predella pieces than with the other two paintings. The impression one had from the one and the other of these works was, in short, so contrasting as to raise the question: could Giovanni di Paolo be the author of them all?

The difficulty of giving any final answer to this question was owing to the varying conditions of the paintings. All of them, save the predella pieces, whose extremely darkened condition is justly illustrated in Figs. 3, 4, 5 and 6, made a fairly presentable appearance as regards cleanliness and brightness of the colors, the covering varnishes being quite clear and transparent. Observation gave no evidence that the much darkened predella panels had undergone restoration, except possibly for a small spot here and there.<sup>2</sup> The damaged portions were easy to see, as in the absence of surface painting and even of the gesso on the man bearing the shield who repulses the Virgin in the scene of Christ Carrying the Cross, on the Holy Woman standing in front of Christ in the Resurrection of Lazarus, and in smaller missing areas and spots scattered here and there on all four panels.<sup>3</sup> The painting on the cassone front had obviously suffered. The surface painting of the dresses of all the women, with the exception of that of Hippo in the left foreground, have been worn down to the red underpainting so that the original decorative detail is almost entirely gone. Enough remains, however, to show that the same motif is used in a number of cases. The surface drawing and modeling of the horse under the tower and of the capitals of the porch have been similarly worn down to the same red underpainting. The painting of the background looked to be for the most part intact, save for frequent small surface irregularities, scratchy and roughened passages, that are apparent over the whole panel, but more so on the figures, and that suggested an amount of piecemeal restoration and filling in. Frequent but less minute surface roughnesses occur also on the panels forming the altarpiece. Judging by the crackle, most of the paint film here looks original.

The Crucifixion panel has undergone considerable rehandling and, manually at least,

2. The four panels have, unfortunately, had their backs shaved down to about  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch, after which they were cradled, a procedure which has resulted in a number of cracks, some of them of major proportions as in the Deposition panel, where a crack runs at a slight angle all the way across the picture. The cracks developed, of course, because the horizontal members of the cradle do not run parallel with the grain of the wood, so that in the alternate contractions and expansions of the wood owing to atmospheric conditions there were conflicting directions of strain. The paint film should be transferred to a prepared panel in order to reduce to a minimum all material movements. In the

laboratories of the Walters Art Gallery Mr. David Rosen is perfecting a method of impregnating panels. The results of Mr. Rosen's study and developments in this line will be published in a future issue of *Technical Studies*.

3. It is interesting to note that the portions that have flaked off, as in the instances mentioned above, as distinct from those which have been struck or otherwise damaged at one time and another, were all done in a green pigment. No chemical analysis has been undertaken as yet of the vestiges of this pigment to determine its nature.

of a very skillful sort. New panel sections have been added to each side, onto which the figure of St. Jerome, half the figure of the Baptist, and the figure of St. Francis have been transposed.<sup>4</sup> This will become clear in the X-ray shadowgraph discussed below. Glossy, uncrackled paint appears on the left half of the figure of St. Jerome, on the dull, blue-green cloak of the Virgin, on the dark undergarment of St. John, on the habit of St. Francis and on the dark portion of the banner (cf. Fig. 13). The gold background is of comparatively recent application, with the gold leaf following the outline of the figures with the greatest exactitude. The gold surface has an even, metallic, glossy sheen without a trace of the innumerable pockmarks and minute scoriations found in old work. The regularly spaced rectangular network of crackle, of a pattern like the outlines of masonry, stands in the most obvious contrast with the irregular and indefinite crackle formations or fractures which result from material movements over a considerable period of time. Under the microscope, in fact, the crackle lines are seen to be of an even cutting with a burr thrown up along the edges, demonstrating that they were tooled in, presumably with a needle. The gold background carries a rather dark brownish tone spread out in mottled clouds, the grain of which is composed of minute parallel striations suggesting mechanical application, the general effect being that of a thin brownish wash. Such, indeed, it proved to be when a small portion of the background was cleaned, coming off immediately in a weak solvent and showing a brilliant, smooth gold beneath of patent newness. The clearly more recent gold background had, in short, been covered with an artificial patination to simulate the patina on old gold. The nimbus, likewise, are of a suspiciously pristine brightness and perfect condition; there are no crackle or markings on them and the lines of radiation are somewhat clumsily and mechanically done. The remainder of the works appears to be original, particularly the heads and other anatomical parts.

The foregoing remarks concerning physical condition about complete the possibilities of visual inspection. As a following step toward further determining the real state of the various panels and before any physical operation, such as cleaning (with the slight exception noted above), was undertaken, the panels were photographed with X-ray and infra-red. The services which these forms of radiation render to the investigation of works of art is well known. X-ray makes clear the whole internal structure of the painting, providing positive data in proportion as the X-rays are absorbed by the materials they encounter, so that each substance is reproduced in the shadowgraph in a characteristic manner, from the elements of high atomic weight, represented by pigments with metallic bases, which reproduce light, to those of organic composition, which do not offer sufficient opacity to the rays to be reproduced at all, or perhaps but very faintly.<sup>5</sup> The contribution of X-ray is supplemented by infra-red,<sup>6</sup> which penetrates only the surface films of paint and varnishes. With the aid of infra-red surface damages, retouches and repaintings are brought out in greater contrast than it is possible for the eye to see or ordinary photographic processes to record. Even though pigments of later application may have the same chemical composition as the original ones they never reproduce the same with infra-red, as the physical composition of the former can never be made to match exactly that of the latter and as the contours of the later parts are always recorded however carefully worked into the surrounding

4. On transposing, or transferring, see D. Rosen in *Technical Studies*, III (January, 1935), pp. 156 ff.

5. In regard to the study of paintings by X-ray shadowgraphs generally, see A. M. de Wild, *The Scientific Examination of Pictures*, London, 1929, pp.

92 ff., and G. L. Stout in *Technical Studies*, I (July, 1932), pp. 39-40.

6. See R. A. Lyon, *Infra-red Radiation as an Aid in the Examination of Paintings*, in *Technical Studies* (April, 1934).



field they may be.<sup>7</sup> Infra-red, besides thus indicating distinctions in the application and condition of the pigments present, also brings out to a degree, thanks to its penetrating power, their relative thicknesses, as X-ray does for greater depths. Thus infra-red indicates the manner in which the artist applied his brush, heavily or sparingly loaded with pigment. And consequently infra-red photographs emphasize the larger and more heavily accentuated at the expense of the more delicately rendered forms, producing an image of more than optically sharp contrasts between light and dark (cf. Figs. 13 and 14). Hence a wide difference between the relative thicknesses of the layers of paint or the manner in which they are applied, thickly or thinly, rapidly or sketchily, or worked on with exhaustive care, on two given panels which are ascribed to the same artist, would suggest doubt as to the correctness of the attribution by pointing out in each instance a possibly distinct difference of technical procedure.

Most of the particularities of condition already noted from observation are made more apparent by infra-red reproduction (Figs. 2 and 18). In both the predella and the cassone there is a strong contrast between light figures against a dark background, but in the former case the backgrounds are practically black as compared with various alternating light and dark areas of the cassone. Thus in the infra-red reproduction of the Lazarus panel none of the features of the landscape are visible, so totally have the rays been absorbed. There is a notable difference in the infra-red images between the rendering of the figures in the two panels. In the predella the forms of the figures are carefully and evenly modeled, the various lights and shadows are presented with the delicate gradations of a high degree of finish. A like effect occurs on the cassone only where the surface painting remains relatively undamaged, as on the figure of Hippo to the left and on one of the men who holds her in the scene on the shore. But in these instances the modeling is represented by more abrupt contrasts of light and dark than occur on any of the figures of the predella. Further comparison between the figures of the two works by infra-red reproduction emphasizes the ragged outlines, the roughly indicated details, the nicked and pitted surfaces of the cassone. How much of this situation is due to damage and filling in (as in the detail of the head of the figure in the middle of the group of five women, which is so damaged that its character has been completely lost), infra-red makes especially clear (cf. Figs. 1 and 2). But even making allowances for the rather damaged condition of the Hippo painting, infra-red photographs add to the observation of differences of manner between it and the predella pieces a decided indication of technical differences of procedure, and thus tend to increase doubt as to their common authorship.

A striking difference between X-ray and normal, as well as infra-red, reproductions of the Hippo panel appears in the absence in the X-ray pictures of all the trees and bushes and the crows-nest of the ship (Fig. 15). Moreover, the hill to the extreme right appears in X-ray without the slightly pointed peak of the actual painting (Fig. 1), and this hill, like all the others, but the distant hills in particular, is seen to be composed in a much more accentuated manner than can be discerned by the unaided eye, of a lower, darker portion and an illuminated summit (the time of day is either sunrise or sunset). These features in the X-ray can only mean that the plant forms and crows-nest are painted on so thinly or in a pigment so lacking in density that they do not oppose X-ray at all and that the upper parts

7. This statement does not hold, however, for the division between old and new when the later factor is of an entirely different material, such as gold leaf,

which has been made to follow very exactly the outlines of the painted portions, as is the case here.



FIG. 3—*Descent from the Cross*, by Giovanni di Paolo



FIG. 4—*The Entombment*, by Giovanni di Paolo

*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery*



FIG. 5—*Resurrection of Lazarus*, by Giovanni di Paolo



FIG. 6—*Christ Carrying the Cross*, by Giovanni di Paolo

*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery*





FIG. 7—*Christ Carrying the Cross (Fig. 6 After Cleaning)*

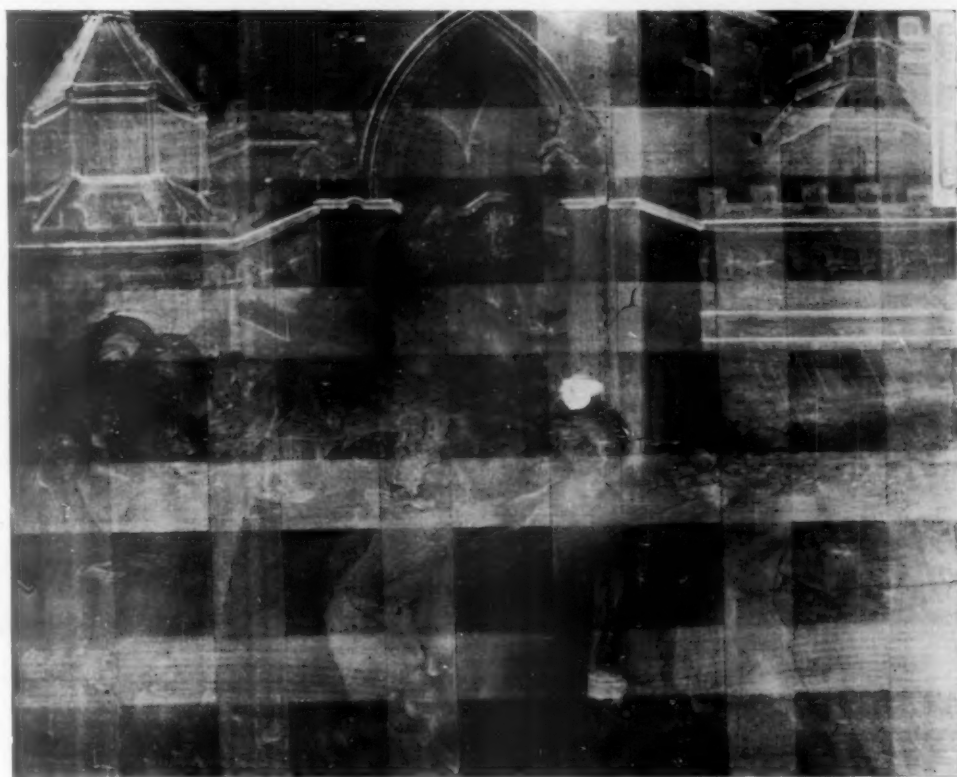


FIG. 8—*Christ Carrying the Cross (X-ray Shadowgraph of Fig. 6)*



FIG. 9—*Christ Carrying the Cross (Detail of Fig. 6 After Cleaning),*  
by Giovanni di Paolo



FIG. 10—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Casone*  
*Painting, School of Giovanni di Paolo*  
*Story of Hippo, Detail of Fig. 1*

of the hills, since they offer more resistance to X-rays than the lower parts, are painted in more heavily than the lower parts or that they are done in a pigment of different composition. A similar conclusion is indicated by the lightness with which the distant towns show up in the X-ray images, and by the fact that the towns which occur below the horizon appear as transparent, the lines of the landscape being visible through them. One is led to conclude that the lighter features of the X-ray, and the plants, trees and crows-nest which do not register at all, were painted in over the other parts, or at least, that they represent distinctly separate steps in completing the painting of the scene. X-rays of the predella (Fig. 8) give no such evidence of different steps in carrying out the composition or for similarly abrupt contrasts between two parts of the same form. The whole painting, on the contrary, appears to have been carried out evenly from start to finish without changes of procedure such as are suggested in the X-rays of the cassone, or in other words, that the densities of the painting on the predella panels are much less varied. It is true that there are no close parallels in pictorial composition between the two works and some allowance is due to expected variances between works that differ in character, doubtless in period and in their original importance. Even so, technical comparisons bring out dissimilarities and not correspondencies between them. The cassone is marked in X-ray shadowgraph by very heavy contrasts of light and shadow and by a general resulting indefiniteness of drawing. Indeed, there is very little drawing in the strict linear sense, the lines being but thin areas of light surrounded by areas of dark. These light areas in the predella panels are much more sharply defined, particularly in the rendering of the faces and hair. However, it can not be said that these distinctions which X-ray brings out between the two paintings are conclusive in themselves.<sup>8</sup> It is only the accumulation of data furnished by the various means of observation under discussion that give weight to judgment as to authorship.

Reference to the X-ray of the Crucifixion panel (Fig. 16) shows that the nimbuses, already considered to be more recent than the original portions, fail to reproduce at all, with the exception of that of Christ, which reproduces in part but which does not show any lines of delineation or the tooling of the decorative detail. X-rays of the predella (Fig. 8), on the other hand, show clearly the great majority of the nimbuses and in some instances the tooling lines are also faintly visible.<sup>9</sup> One must argue, consequently, that the nimbuses of the Crucifixion panel were in all probability put in at the same time as the gold background since X-ray makes no distinction between them and the surrounding areas. The nimbuses of the predella, on the contrary, are darker than the areas around them, showing that they were worked in in another material of lesser density beneath their covering of gold leaf, which, as the nimbus of Christ in the Crucifixion panel likewise shows, is not alone sufficient to arrest X-rays.<sup>10</sup> The wood of the Crucifixion panel has disappeared from both sides, the X-ray showing clearly where the new parts have been added, in two sections on the left and on the right in one. A new portion on the upper right is indicated by the nail that joins it with the old. The figures have been skilfully transposed onto the new wood, with what success is brought out in a comparison between the X-ray and infra-red reproductions. The

8. The underdrawing of the figure of Hippo to the left of the cassone front is, indeed, quite precise and delicate—more so than that of any other figure on the panel—and on account of this character could quite conceivably have been done by the artist of the predella. The rendering of the other figures as they appear in X-ray do not, however, bear out this correspondence.

9. Though not in the example reproduced.

10. I can find no evidence in Cennini for such a distinction as the X-ray of the nimbuses makes between the gold leaf and some sort of a working of the material beneath it. See C. J. Herringham, *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini*, London, 1922, pp. 109, 115.



left side of the figure of St. Jerome in the infra-red (Fig. 13) appears darker and more even of surface than the other side of the figure. The X-ray shows that the division corresponds to the line of joining between the two new sections, and that the painting on the outer section has lost more of its character, as though abraded, than the painting on the other section, and it is the former part that has been retouched to a degree over the original drawing. The difference between the two parts is appreciable in the normal photograph but with much less contrast than in the infra-red and without the explanation, of course, provided by X-ray which supplements examination of the panel itself. X-ray shows very clearly the general wear which the painting has undergone and the degree to which the original drawing and modeling remain. The effect is that of carefully and delicately drawn figures that have been "skinned down" and become somewhat flattened. The condition of the Crucifixion panel relative to the predella and cassone panels renders comparison with them difficult by X-ray. However, it seems evident that the original drawing and modeling of the Crucifixion, which remain to a major degree according to the X-ray, are more like the precise character of these features in the predella than the sketchier manner of the cassone. The forms are delicately drawn in and not blocked out and the modeling appears to have been achieved in conjunction with a sensitive delineation, whereas there is no such clear demarcation between line and light-and-shade in the Hippo scene. Again making allowances for differences in condition, investigation by X-ray bears out the original impression of a difference of technique between the two paintings.

There remained as a final step toward determining the true state of the various panels the removal of the covering varnishes.<sup>11</sup> This has not been undertaken for the altarpiece nor for the Crucifixion panel. In the case of the former time did not allow the various steps of investigation herein described, and in both instances the varnish is, apparently, very thin and almost entirely transparent, hiding nothing beneath. The varnish covering the cassone was also but moderately dark and on cleaning proved to be thin, showing that it was not made up of many successive coats and that its age was probably not great. Photographs before (Fig. 1) and after cleaning give substantially the same effect but the rough spots which had appeared through the varnish and which seemed to be due to damages and repairs, the extent of which was made clear both by infra-red and X-ray, now stand out much more clearly on close inspection. The relative newness of the varnish is further attested by the fact that there were no color changes when it was removed. Removal of the varnish of the predella pieces resulted, however, in little short of a revelation (Fig. 7). Before cleaning the effect was of rather subdued colors beneath a dirty brown film, the whole appearing very dull. Now the effect is extremely bright and of high values and intensities. The robe of the Virgin and of the man to the extreme right were a dark green, as seen through the film of brown varnish, now they are a deep ultramarine. The entire city wall is done in a light cinnabar red which is repeated in a deeper vermilion hue in the costumes, as the blue is under the portico and on the chimneys, while the rich red-violet of Christ's garment is taken up in other costumes. The intense colors are arranged among a number of more neutral ones; dull light greens, fawn greens, blue-grays, yellow-greens, straw yellows. The same colors appear in the Lazarus panel against a dull green landscape with some of the hills in dull light blue. The colors of the Crucifixion panel are of the same sort but less brilliant and vivid: presumably they have been matched by the restorer, in the

11. Time did not allow the cleaning of more than two predella panels before this article went to press,

namely, the Christ Carrying the Cross and the Resurrection of Lazarus.

portions mentioned above, with the original hues. The colors of the cassone (Fig. 1), on the other hand, do not compare with those of the predella either in range or in brilliance and those that are of comparable hue are quite different in quality. The whole effect here is much less bright and illuminated and the rhythmical composition of the predella's colors is quite absent, there being no recognizable attempt at color composition beyond the simplest contrasts of warm and cool shades. In the matter of color, cleaning brings out a radical difference between the two works.<sup>12</sup>

Enlargements of details from the predella and Hippo panels after cleaning (Figs. 9 and 10) complete the impression of difference one had at the beginning. The illustrations make any detailed comparison unnecessary, but the more striking divergencies may be signaled out. There is the widest variance between the loose, sketchy, ragged drawing and modeling, the abrupt contrasts of light and dark of the cassone detail, and the precisely drawn and compactly modeled forms and even distribution of light and dark of the predella pieces, differences which are in agreement with the results obtained from investigation by infra-red and X-ray. In the predella the careful delineation of the particular forms, as in the eyes, hair, ears, mouths and ornamental details, speaks for itself when opposed by the style of the cassone. The man who painted the first must have undergone a complete change of manner and method of craftsmanship to have been the author of the other work also. The technical and stylistic differences between the two paintings appear so categorical that a difference in authorship seems an unavoidable conclusion.

## II.

The four predella panels<sup>13</sup> have been allocated by Cesare Brandi to the altarpiece of the Pecci family which formerly stood over their altar in the church of S. Domenico at Siena.<sup>14</sup> Ugurgieri's *Pompe Sanesi*, published in 1649, dates the Pecci altarpiece in the year 1426 and describes it as being composed of the Madonna and Sts. John the Baptist, Laurence, Paul and Dominic, with the predella containing the scenes of Christ Carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion and the Entombment.<sup>15</sup> There is no mention of a Resurrection of Lazarus or a Deposition. Brandi recognizes in the Sts. John the Baptist and Dominic mentioned by Ugurgieri the two paintings of these saints in the Siena gallery (nos. 193 and 197). The paintings of the Sts. Laurence and Paul referred to are unknown. The main panel of the Pecci altarpiece is, according to Brandi's reconstruction, the signed and dated Madonna and

12. It should be mentioned that at no time during the process of cleaning was the slightest bit of color removed along with the varnish films. The original paint layer remains precisely as it was beneath the varnish. A word as to restoration should also be included. The only restoration undertaken after cleaning has been in matching very small missing spots with their surrounding passages. Large damaged areas, such as on the man bearing the shield of the *Via Crucis* panel, were left exactly as found since restoration here would mean modern invention and a modification of the original composition. Any restoration, in short, that involves surmise as to the character of what is lost is strictly avoided.

13. Catalogue nos. 489-A, -B, -C, -D. *The Walters Collection Baltimore* (n. d.), *Catalogue of the Paintings*, p. 103, no. 489. R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1927, IX, pp. 412-413, with three illustrations.

M. Gengaro, in *La Diana*, VII (1932), p. 24. B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 244. Each panel measures  $15\frac{7}{8}'' \times 17\frac{1}{8}''$ .

14. *Ricostruzione di un'opera giovanile di Giovanni di Paolo*, in *L'Arte*, XXXVII (1934), pp. 462 ff. The Walters Art Gallery has no record of the source of these paintings. Their previous ownership by the Chigi-Saracini collection at Siena is given by Brandi, and by van Marle, *op. cit.*

15. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 467. The work is also mentioned by a pastoral visit of Egidio Bossio, published in 1575, and by a Guide to Siena of 1625, but they, apparently, do not describe it so fully as does Ugurgieri. From the Guide it appears that the altar was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, explaining, perhaps, his presence on the altarpiece, as the presence of St. Dominic is similarly explained by allusion to the saint to whom the church was dedicated.

Child with angels of 1426 in the Prepositura of Castelnuovo Berardenga,<sup>16</sup> and the central panel of the predella is the Crucifixion in the Lindenau Museum (no. 77) at Altenburg (Fig. 17).<sup>17</sup> If the association of the Castelnuovo Madonna and the predella pieces is correct, the four Walters panels are dated at the beginning of Giovanni's career, 1426 being the earliest date known on any of his works, when he was about twenty-three years of age.<sup>18</sup>

Continuing with Brandi's account, the altars of the chapels of S. Domenico underwent a complete renovation in the first decades of the seventeenth century when all the altarpieces were moved into the Refectory, where Ugurgieri saw them.<sup>19</sup> "Later", contempt grew for such "antiquated rubbish" and a considerable breaking up and distribution of the altarpieces took place, the various panels going to the smaller churches of the region and to those "shrewd private parties" who were beginning to form the first collections of paintings, the central panels being retained by preference, especially when they represented the Madonna. The presence of the Madonna of 1426 at Castelnuovo Berardenga is the more readily explained by the fact that the *frati* of S. Domenico were landed proprietors there. The central panel, figuring the Madonna, of the Branchini family's altarpiece by Giovanni di Paolo passed, however, along with other fragments, to the Conti Chigi-Saracini of Castelnuovo, from whose collection at Siena came the Walters predella pieces. The Branchini panel, dated 1427 by seventeenth century writers,<sup>20</sup> is identified by Brandi with the signed and dated Madonna of 1427 which passed from the Chigi-Saracini collection to that of Robert von Hirsch at Frankfurt a/M. and which has since been placed on view in the Städel Institute.<sup>21</sup> A third painting by Giovanni di Paolo originally in S. Domenico was the altarpiece of the Guelfi family of 1445.<sup>22</sup>

The artistic sources offered by Brandi for the paintings of his reconstructed altarpiece are most convincing. The disposition of the figures of the Madonna and Child of the Castelnuovo panel duplicate Taddeo di Bartolo's arrangement in his triptych of 1400 in the Oratorio della Compagnia di Sta. Caterina della Notte at Siena, and the music-making angels also correspond though their positions have been reversed.<sup>23</sup> The crowning angels

16. The inscription on this panel is given by the Guide of 1625 as "Opus Johannis de Senis 1426;" Brandi, *loc. cit.*, corrects this to "Opus Johannis Senensis M-CCCC-XXVI."

17. The measurements given by Brandi for the various panels fit together so as to make up an altarpiece. The dimensions of the Walters panels are H. .403 x W. .435 m., and not .393 x .501 m. as given by Brandi and the old Walters *Catalogue*. But the height of .403 m. provides a more exact correspondence with the height of the Altenburg Crucifixion, given by Brandi as .400 m.

18. Mr. Millard Meiss of New York University tells me, however, that he knows of a work by Giovanni di Paolo dated 1421.

19. This situation doubtless explains Ugurgieri's confusing the Pecci altarpiece with that of the Malavolti family, an error which is the more understandable because the original positions of the two altars were next to each other. According to the Guide of 1625, the altarpiece over the Malavolti altar was painted by Andrea di Bartolo, dated 1397, and was dedicated to the Annunciation. See Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

20. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 467 and note 1.

21. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 251; O. Götz, *Leihausstellung aus Privatbesitz im Städtischen Kunstinstitut in Der Cicerone*, II (1925), p. 733.

22. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 462. This author is inclined to believe that the Last Judgment in the Siena gallery (no. 172), taken to be the original predella of the Guelfi altarpiece (van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 418; listed by Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 247, as early), is a later copy by Giovanni of the original piece, an hypothesis which is strengthened, he says, by the consideration of the dimensions of the Siena panel which make it unlikely that there were lateral scenes of the Creation and Flood, as noted by Ugurgieri. A similar copying of the Guelfi panel is, according to Brandi, Giovanni's Paradise in the Metropolitan Museum. Brandi's reading of the documents and early accounts brings out that the Guide of 1625 confused the positions of the Pecci and Guelfi altars in the church, thus explaining the Guide's erroneous dating of the Guelfi altarpiece as 1426 instead of 1445, the date given by Ugurgieri, which is the more plausible dating to judge from the style of the Siena Last Judgment.

23. Pointed out, with further references, by Stella Rubenstein-Block in the *Catalogue of the Collection of George and Florence Blumenthal*, Paris, 1926, I, in connection with a Madonna and Child by a follower of Taddeo di Bartolo (pl. XXIV), arranged in the same fashion. The music-making angels appear also in Taddeo's polyptych of 1403 in the Perugia Pinacoteca. The type of the Madonna and Child is re-





FIG. 11—Head of St. Nicolas, Detail of Fig. 12



FIG. 12—Madonna Enthroned with Saints

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Altarpiece, School of Giovanni di Paolo



FIG. 13—Infrared Photograph of Fig. 14

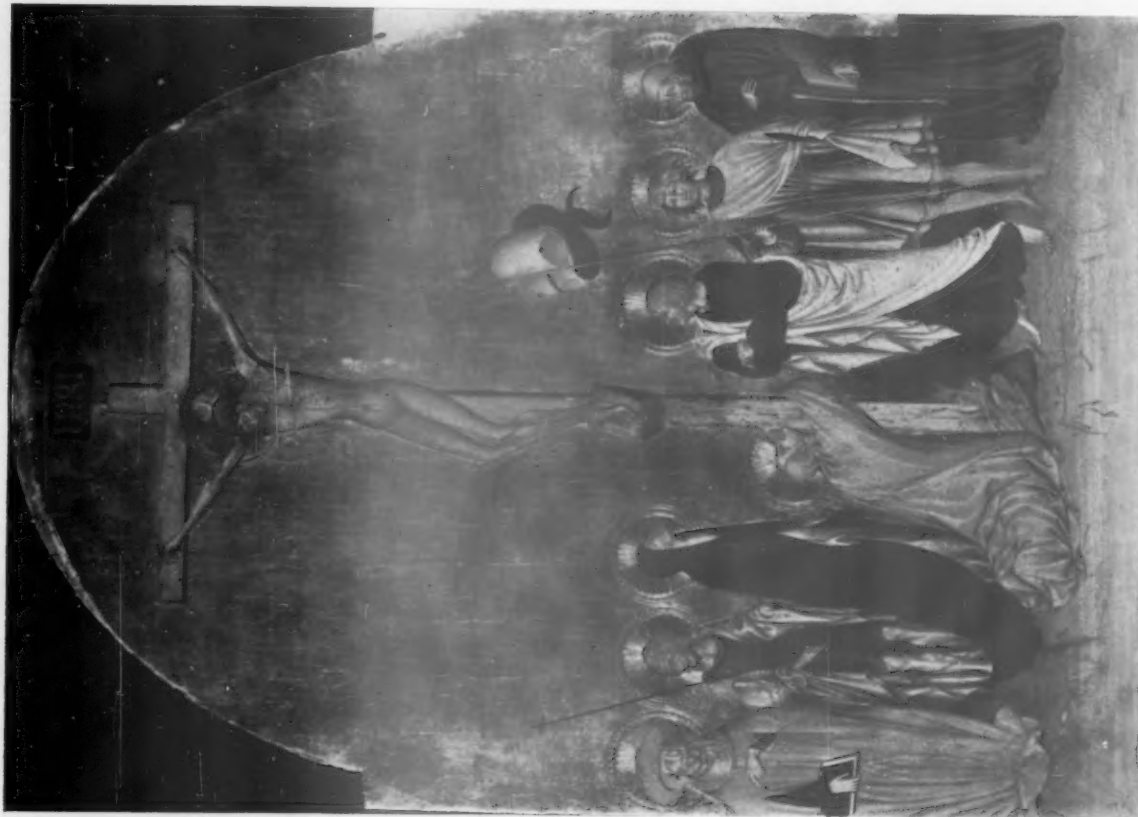


FIG. 14—Crucifixion, by Giovanni di Paolo

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



FIG. 15—Story of Hippo (X-ray Shadowgraph of Right Hand Portion of Fig. 1)



FIG. 16—Crucifixion (X-ray Shadowgraph of Fig. 14)





FIG. 17—Altenburg, Lindenau Museum: *Crucifixion*, by Giovanni di Paolo



FIG. 18—*Resurrection of Lazarus* (Infra-red Photograph of Fig. 5)

are quite similar to the ones crowning St. Louis of Toulouse in Simone Martini's painting of 1317 at Naples, and Giovanni like Simone uses a fleur-de-lys motif in the crown. In the face of this precise evidence van Marle's statement that the composition of the Castelnuovo Madonna was influenced by Gentile da Fabriano carries little weight.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, as the following discussion tends to show, there seems little evidence for believing, as van Marle does,<sup>25</sup> that Gentile was one of the determining influences of Giovanni's first manner. Certainly the analogies of the predella pieces, as Brandi maintains, lie almost wholly with Sienese painting of the Trecento and early Quattrocento, from Duccio himself to Taddeo di Bartolo.<sup>26</sup> For the Walters Resurrection of Lazarus the composition of the figures of Christ, Martha and Mary, the man holding his nose and the heads of the old men immediately in back of him, two of the men holding the pointed slab of stone, and the shroud-wrapped figure of Lazarus emerging from the grave in the hill, are all strikingly similar (except for the head of Lazarus) to the same figures in Duccio's panel from the *Maestà*. Likenesses with Barna's similar composition in the Collegiata at San Gimignano are equally striking. The sparse landscape background with the many-towered towns on the horizon is similar in kind with the two well-known Lorenzettian landscapes in the Siena gallery and not at all in the early Renaissance style of Gentile's detailed and sparkling panoramas. A very close analogy to the Walters *Via Crucis* is furnished by Simone Martini's painting of the same scene in the Louvre. In each case the procession comes out of a city gate, turns sharply and moves on toward the right, and the figures of St. John, the Virgin, the man with the shield and of Christ are almost identical in disposition.<sup>27</sup> The Silenus-like old men are perhaps most closely paralleled by the similar type found in Duccio's *Maestà*.<sup>28</sup> The octagonal building and the winged figures bearing garlands occur, though not in just the

peated again in Giovanni di Paolo's triptych at Baschi (see van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 257). Besides Giovanni's adoption of Taddeo di Bartolo's iconography for the Castelnuovo Madonna, Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 468, sees the influence here of Paolo di Giovanni Fei, which G. H. Edgell in *A History of Sienese Painting*, N. Y., 1933, p. 215, also sees unmistakably present.

24. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 394, explains the forms as well as the composition as due to the influence of Gentile da Fabriano and the morphological types and the expression to the influence of Sassetta. The latter explanation seems, also, very unlikely. One is reminded rather more of Lippo Memmi; see van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 169.

Perhaps the most striking instance that can be found of Giovanni's indebtedness in iconography to Gentile da Fabriano is the former's copying of the predella of Gentile's altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi of 1423 in the Uffizi. The Presentation in the Temple in the Blumenthal Collection, New York, is taken over almost item by item by Giovanni from the picture by Gentile which is now in the Louvre (both suggest a Lorenzettian original; see note 29). Giovanni's Nativity in the Vatican is no less close to Gentile's Uffizi panel. The only Flight into Egypt by Giovanni di Paolo that I am acquainted with, that in the Siena gallery (no. 176), bears, however, no resemblance to Gentile's composition.

25. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 392.

26. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 481, sees no evidence of Gentile's influence in these panels.

27. The type likeness of the children in the two works is also to be noted.

28. See particularly the *Maestà* Crucifixion. The Walters example also has similarities to Barna's Way to Calvary in the Collegiata at San Gimignano, where the procession moves toward the left. The same scene in a polyptych attributed to Matteo da Viterbo in the Stoclet Collection at Brussels, which presents many similarities to the Walters panel, appears to derive also from Simone; see A. Venturi in *L'Arte*, XXV (1922), p. 166. A similar man with the shield occurs on the central panel of a triptych in the Pinacoteca at Treviso, attributed to a follower of Cola Petruccioli; see R. van Marle, *La Scuola Pittorica Orvietana del '300 in Bollettino d'Arte*, II (1923/24), p. 327, fig. 19. In the Johnson Collection of the Pennsylvania Museum is a Way to Golgotha by Giovanni di Paolo in which the figures of the Virgin, the man with the shield, the man supporting the Cross, Christ, and the man who leads Him by a rope are so similar to the corresponding figures of the Walters panel that it must be considered a later and simpler version of the latter; later because of the way in which the features are picked out in light and shade and the more nervous drawing. The Holy Woman with upraised arms in the Johnson panel recalls the figure in Simone's painting in the Louvre. The colors are very similar in character to those of the Walters panel but the technique does not seem to be so fine. See B. Berenson, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings*, etc., Philadelphia, I, 1913, no. 105. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, pp. 330, notes 1, 426, believes that the Johnson example may have formed part of a predella of which the Vatican Prayer on the Mount of Olives and Deposition were also parts, and that dates no earlier than 1448.

same relation, in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Presentation of 1342 in the Uffizi.<sup>29</sup> The scene of the Descent from the Cross presents no such close correspondencies with earlier works for the composition as a whole, but obvious resemblances appear in many details. The figure of Mary is quite like that in Duccio's *Maestà* Descent; the apostle above who helps lower the body of Christ repeats the position of the same figure in Simone's Descent at Antwerp; the Holy Woman with upthrown arms and the two children are likewise most Martinesque; the apostle drawing the nail from the feet of Christ and, to a certain extent, the posture of the body of Christ, are found in Pietro Lorenzetti's Deposition in San Francesco at Assisi. In the Walters Entombment the steep rocky formations of the background with a cleft between the hills to the right through which the Holy Women approach, are in the manner of Simone's Assisi fresco of St. Martin Leaving the Army.<sup>30</sup> The action of carrying Christ's body is something of a departure from the usual arrangement, which shows Him laid out upon the sarcophagus, and usually His head is to the left and not to the right as here. No close parallels can be offered here for the iconography of this scene, but the emotional content is of very much the same order as Simone's, as in his Entombment at Berlin. In fact, the degree of emotional expression witnessed in the predella paintings seems to fall just about midway between Duccio and Simone Martini. Nor is the fine, sharp, linear technique of the Walters panels out of keeping with this relative position. At the same time, a peculiar sharpness of the features and slenderness of the figures, which contribute to the effect of nervous agitation throughout the scenes, add decidedly to the impression of originality in Giovanni's manner. The bright, intense colors and the flat, even modeling (which is not justly represented in the reproductions) readily recall the technique of Sassetta, though direct comparison with Duccio's works might very possibly disclose close similarities here also. In view of the many iconographic, morphological, and even stylistic analogies mentioned above, the true source of the Walters panels would seem to lie with the older Sienese painting rather than with Giovanni's younger contemporaries, such as Sassetta or Gentile da Fabriano.

The Altenburg Crucifixion gives every evidence of being identical in style with the Walters panels. The facial types, the drapery folds, the drawing and the modeling, the emotional expression, seem all precisely of the same kind. The acanthuslike motif on the armor of the mounted soldiers, the one on the left and the other on the extreme right, is the same as the motif on the armor of the turbaned young man under the city gate of the Christ Carrying the Cross. The only close iconographic comparison that comes to hand from the Trecento is the Crucifixion by "Ugolino Lorenzetti" in the Louvre.<sup>31</sup> A very close analogy is furnished by a Crucifixion in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, which has

29. Unlike Ambrogio, Giovanni has put an onion-shaped dome on the lantern of the octagonal building. Giovanni has made a quite literal copy of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Uffizi Presentation of 1342 in his Presentation of 1447-48 in the Siena gallery (no. 211); van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 273. See also Bartolo di Maestro Fredi's Presentation in the Louvre (no. 1151). Somewhat similar octagonal buildings are seen in the Entry into Jerusalem and the Funeral of the Virgin from Duccio's *Maestà* (see van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 21, 39). I know of no close parallels for the motif of the prancing horses on the city gate, but analogous features are found on the architecture of Giotto's Expulsion of

the Money Changers in the Arena Chapel, and the dogs on brackets with apertures behind them in Taddeo di Bartolo's Funeral of the Virgin of 1407 in the Chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena; see O. Sirèn, *Giotto and Some of His Followers*, Cambridge, 1917, II, pl. 41, and van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 354.

30. The aperture in the hill to receive the coffin of Christ is the usual feature for the scenes of the Nativity, the Marys at the Tomb and the Descent into Hell.

31. No. 1665: van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 76; Brandi, *op. cit.*, sees in Barna the effective prototype for the Altenburg composition.



been attributed to Giovanni himself but which is probably somewhat earlier.<sup>32</sup> The Crucifixions by Giovanni at Siena (no. 175) and Berlin (no. 1112 c), while showing certain similarities with the Altenburg painting, appear to belong to a later manner.

Whereas the several stages in the development of Giovanni's style have not been thoroughly worked out, certain phases are clearly demarcated from early through intermediate to late, as his dated works and the sequence from relatively simple and restrained to the more involved and expressive bring out.<sup>33</sup> The fact that Giovanni often copies himself does not make the task of determining the steps of his development any easier.<sup>34</sup> The same might be said for his characteristic practice of looking in many directions for compositional arrangements and for his "archaizing eclecticism" generally.<sup>35</sup> Nor do his connections with the International movement tend to emphasize the traits that are peculiar to himself.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, in the matter of style, however it may vary and despite the leveling influence of the factors just mentioned, Giovanni remains quite decidedly himself, an artist of a very marked individuality. There are no other of his works in the very particular style of the

32. The group of the Jewish priests is most similar. This painting was attributed to Giovanni di Paolo by V. Romea in *Rassegna d'arte senese*, 1926, p. 72. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 392, thinks it not improbably a youthful work of Giovanni's "when he was still strongly influenced by Fei." I know of no Crucifixion by Fei that resembles this. Brandi, *op. cit.*, classifies it among such belated Trecentists as Taddeo di Bartolo, Martino di Bartolomeo.

33. My intimacy with the work of Giovanni di Paolo does not extend to the point of being able to follow van Marle's chronology for the development of Giovanni's style. This author gives no less than four periods and at least one subdivision, as follows: First Manner, to about 1440 (*op. cit.*, pp. 392 ff.); Transition to Second Manner (pp. 400 ff.); Second Manner, about 1440-c.1453 (pp. 410 ff.); Third Manner, c.1453-c.1457 (?) (pp. 438 ff.); Fourth Manner and Decadence, c.1463- (pp. 443 ff.). Van Marle's dating of the Walters predella panels at the beginning of Giovanni's second manner is quite at variance with Brandi's reconstruction and with the conclusion of similar dating arrived at in this article.

34. Besides the examples noted elsewhere, see the Assumption of the Virgin in the Servanzi Collection at San Severino (F. Mason Perkins in *La Diana*, VII (1932), p. 180), which appears to be a simplified version of the Asciano Assumption. The likeness of the latter with the Assumption at Berlin (no. 1112), given in part to Sassetta (Berenson), and the Assumption by the Ovile Master at Siena (E. T. DeWald, *Pietro Lorenzetti*, in *Art Studies* (1929), fig. 68) is to be noted. The connections between the Coronation of the Virgin on the high altar of S. Andrea at Siena of 1445 and the Coronation in the Lehman Collection, New York, are too close to be fortuitous. The Lehman example appears to be the earlier. See R. Lehman, *The Philip Lehman Collection*, New York, Paris, 1928, pl. L. No doubt a thorough investigation of Giovanni's works would bring to light a number of other examples of repetition.

35. See Weigelt in Thieme und Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon* . . . , XIV, p. 133. In addition to Giovanni's adoptions from other masters noted elsewhere, the following cases are to be mentioned. The female saint to the right of the altarpiece of Pienza Cathedral is the same figure as occurs on the left of the Friedsam altarpiece of 1454 in the Metropolitan Mu-

seum, a type which Giovanni derived from the figure of St. Giulitta on Lippo Memmi's altarpiece of 1333 in the Uffizi; see F. Bargagli-Petrucci, *Pienza, Montalcino e la Val d'Orcia senese (Italia artistica)*, Bergamo, 1911, p. 63, and L. Dussler in *The Burlington Magazine*, L (1927), p. 36. The St. Giulitta altarpiece is here spoken of as by Lippo Vanni. Regarding the influence of Giotto: W. Heywood and L. Olcott, *Guide to Siena*, London, 1903, p. 189; G. de Nicola, in *Vita d'Arte*, X (1912), p. 43. Concerning the influence of the Lorenzetti, Jacopo della Quercia, Ghiberti, Donatello, etc., Weigelt, *loc. cit.*; G. de Nicola, in *Burl. Mag.*, XXVIII (1918), pp. 45 ff.; F. Antal, *Gedanken zur Entwicklung der Trecento- und Quattrocento-malerei in Siena und Florenz*, in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, Leipzig (1924/25), pp. 224 ff. Taddeo di Bartolo: L. Dussler in *Burl. Mag.*, XXVIII (1918), p. 36. Regarding the influence of Gentile da Fabriano: G. Vasari, *Le Vite* . . . , ed. G. Milanesi, Firenze, 1878, III, p. 23; A. Colasanti in *Boll. d'Arte* . . . (1907), p. 21. The Ducciesque character of the St. Jerome Writing in the Siena gallery (no. 180) may also be mentioned. Cf. the same figure on the wing of a diptych in the Johnson Collection, attributed to Tommaso da Modena (†1379); B. Berenson, *Cat. of a Coll. of Paintings* . . . , Phila., 1913, I, no. 153. Cf. E. Jacobsen, *Das Quattrocento in Siena*, Strassburg, 1908, pp. 42 ff.

36. A detailed consideration of this very ramified matter is outside the limits of the present article. However, a beginning may be indicated, among other directions, with reference to IV of van Marle's *Italian Schools*. Reminiscences of Giovanni's characteristics are encountered in the slender forms, physical types and more or less tense expression of Veneto-Byzantine and Venetian work from the first half of the fourteenth century on; cf., for example, figs. 7, 19, 22 and 38; and in some Riminese examples where, although the general style is markedly different, there are likenesses in details and in emotional expression; cf. figs. 142 and 167. See also the Bolognese example of the early fifteenth century, fig. 237, and Ferrarese, as in fig. 252. Such references emphasize once again Giovanni's Siennese preoccupation with the Trecento and his adoption of the descriptive realism of the early Quattrocento as opposed to the progressive ways of his non-Siennese contemporaries.

Walters and Altenburg pieces, so far as the present writer knows. Exception may be made for the *Via Crucis* in the Johnson collection and, to a lesser extent, for the Crucifixion at Siena (no. 175), but they give evidence of deriving from the predella.<sup>37</sup> It, consequently, stands out markedly in the corpus of Giovanni's works, seeming, as Brandi puts it, like an interpolation among the artist's other productions which show different characteristics of form and, for the most part, a less contained and concentrated expression of sentiment. This distinction, which is given further qualification below, may be summed up in Brandi's characterization of the style of Giovanni's first period as a Trecento gothicism and of the manner which follows as a neogothicism, a change that becomes apparent by 1436. Since the peculiar style of the predella is most probably not to be found again in the series of Giovanni's works,<sup>38</sup> except in the form of later self-imitation, and since at this time he appears to have held so closely to the painting of the Sienese Trecento, from which he makes many departures in his later activity, the early date of Brandi's reconstruction is strongly indicated. Brandi, too, has signaled out a number of technical features in regard to the Madonna of 1426, such as the type of nimbus with inscriptions in concentric circles, the working of the gold brocade on the Madonna's tunic, the foliation of the crown and the thorn-like flowers in the angels' hair, all of which point to the same conclusion of reference to traditional Sienese models and to methods used by Giovanni only in his first period.<sup>39</sup> And consequently association of the predella with the Castelnuovo Madonna becomes the more plausible. It is true that the style of the latter does not match that of the predella, nor can any example be offered here for a similar juxtaposing of two manners in one and the same work.<sup>40</sup> But in view of Giovanni's habitual practice of drawing upon a number of sources for his compositions the possibility is not precluded that the two works were originally parts of the same altarpiece.

The St. John the Baptist introduced by Brandi to fill the position on the Castelnuovo Madonna's right hand is derived without much question from Taddeo di Bartolo. But the greater severity, the ruggedness and acid expression introduced here by Giovanni belong in kind with those relatively realistic and expressive characteristics which qualify the "neogothicism" of his later work. Van Marle, indeed, believes the figure to be by the hand of Giacomo del Pisano, the hypothetical, awkward helper of Giovanni's later career.<sup>41</sup> Brandi, on the other hand, disagrees flatly with this opinion and draws attention to the delicate rendering of the veins and the exact correspondence of the nimbus with that of the Castelnuovo Madonna and declares that the figure's characteristics of style place it before 1430. Were

37. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 444-445, on the other hand, puts the Altenburg Crucifixion in Giovanni's last and decadent period, commenting on the excellence of its colors but declaring that its "charm is destroyed by the distorted features and spasmodic movements of the figures," remarks which do not seem to fit the case at all. This position is the more difficult to understand because the Crucifixion in the Siena gallery (no. 175) (van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 253), which resembles the Altenburg example closely in style but which presents to a degree those less stable features of style and emotion upon which van Marle largely relies as indications of later dating and which, consequently, should date after the Altenburg panel, as it really appears to, is dated by van Marle earlier than the Altenburg panel, that is, about 1436, as a part of the Fondi altarpiece of that date. Berenson, *op. cit.*, lists the Siena example as early. For the Johnson *Via Crucis*, see note 28.

38. Some similarity with the predella pieces in the treatment of the drapery folds may be noted in Giovanni's Investiture of a Monk in the Vatican (van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 287), and in his Marriage of the Virgin in the Doria gallery (K. Escher, *Malerei der Renaissance in Mittel- und Unteritalien*, 1922, I, Abb. 54, where the work is given to Sassetta).

39. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

40. This admission is made aside from the distinction in manner which van Marle sees in a number of works which he believes to be the result of cooperation between Giovanni and Giacomo del Pisano. Also, if more of Giovanni's altarpieces remained intact a like variation in style such as is witnessed in the reconstructed Pecci altarpiece might appear between the central panels and the predelle.

41. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 458.



it not for the matter of the nimbus and the proportions of the panel one would, on the face of the matter, have little to rely upon for believing this figure of the Baptist to be part of the reconstructed Pecci altarpiece. Certainly the morphological features of the figure stand in the most marked contrast with the forms of the other panels. If it does indeed belong with them and was painted in 1426 one can only conclude that Giovanni's variability of manner was already well established at the beginning of his career, in which case the style of his first period becomes the more difficult to isolate and define. As for the St. Dominic, whose position falls on the Baptist's right, there seem to be no particular reasons for going contrary to Brandi's allocation and early dating.

No very close stylistic parallels can be offered here for the Walters Crucifixion,<sup>42</sup> and it is a question, indeed, if its particular manner can be found definitely again in Giovanni's work. Compared to the presumably early Crucifixions at Altenburg (no. 77), Siena (no. 175) and Berlin (no. 1112 c), which seem to date in the order given, there are obvious differences. While the figures of the Walters panel are of a somewhat larger and more rugged mould, the draperies are more broken up, complicated and casual, the absence of the clear and schematic arrangement of the Gothic cascades witnessed in the other works being especially noticeable. The faces of the former painting have more "character," by reason of the greater prominence of the bony structures. The body of Christ appears more attenuated than can be found in any other similar figure among the artist's works. The figures of the Siena Crucifixion of 1440 (no. 200) are of an altogether different cast and Giovanni's later productions generally offer little if anything in the way of stylistic similarities. Some rather close approximations occur, however, between the facial types and the emotional expression of the Virgin and St. John and these features of the same figures from a Crucifix by Sassetta in the Palazzo Saracini at Siena.<sup>43</sup>

After Giovanni's first manner the modeling of the heads becomes to a degree more illusionistic, the forms being represented with small and rather naturalistically modulated passages of light and shadow. This method is not to be confused with the rough, sketchy technique of the Hippo panel, brought out in Section I. At the same time, the faces often show a tendency toward realism, attaining now and again, as critics have often remarked, a caricature-like effect.<sup>44</sup> These traits become clearly apparent by 1436, as in the small figures of the Misericordia Madonna in S. Maria dei Servi at Siena and the book-cover in the Siena Archives showing St. Jerome extracting a thorn from the paw of the lion.<sup>45</sup> This realistic tendency is witnessed in the structure of the heads of the Walters Crucifixion, where, moreover, the modeling was originally probably more pronounced than it is today for, as was brought out in Section I, the surface painting appears to have lost some of its erstwhile depth and relief. In view of all these considerations one can conclude little more than that the Crucifixion panel is certainly not in Giovanni's first manner nor that there is any more evidence for placing it very late in his activity. An intermediate period, of perhaps a rather early stage, is suggested.<sup>46</sup>

42. Catalogue no. 727. Formerly in the Massarenti Collection, Rome, and acquired by Mr. Henry Walters in 1902. See *Catalogue du Musée de Peinture, Sculpture et Archéologie au Palais Accoramboni, première partie*, Rome, imprimerie du Vatican, 1897, no. 75. The painting is here ascribed to the school of Fra Angelico. *Walters Gallery, Baltimore, Catalogue of the Paintings* (n.d.), p. 132. Listed in Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 244. The panel measures  $21\frac{1}{2}'' \times 15\frac{1}{4}''$  (.546 m.  $\times$  .387 m.).

43. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 212.

44. In regard to Giovanni's distortions and an appraisal of his work, see F. M. Perkins in *Ras. d'Arte*, XIV (1914), p. 164, note 1.

45. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, figs. 255 and 256. Regarding the Servi Madonna, see E. Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

46. According to the *Notes* in C. J. Herringham's *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini*, London, 1922, p. 251, cardinals did not adopt the red dress until 1464.



The cassone front figuring the story of Hippo<sup>47</sup> was first attributed to Giovanni di Paolo in 1913 by F. Mason Perkins, who identified the scene correctly at the same time.<sup>48</sup> The story of Hippo, a Greek lady who, preferring death to dishonor, threw herself overboard from the ship of her captors, an act that was rewarded by Poseidon with a miraculous salvation from the waves, belongs with the histories of the illustrious and virtuous women of antiquity whom Renaissance *litterati*, Petrarch and Boccaccio among them, glorified with "Triumphs" of chastity, fidelity, modesty, etc.<sup>49</sup> Such stories were especially popular for the decoration of nuptial chests.<sup>50</sup> The sequence of events on the Walters example moves, apparently, from left to right, with armed men about the walled town of Athens<sup>51</sup> about to seize upon Hippo as she approaches among her companions with an apron full of flowers. One of the mounted men levels a spear at her. She is then observed among her captors on the shore, and, at the right, she is seen in the water near the ship of her dismayed abductors.<sup>52</sup> Perkins noted that the Walters painting had a special interest in that it was the only example known among the works of Giovanni di Paolo with an historico-mythological subject. Since Perkins wrote however, at least five other works attributed to Giovanni have been listed in this category: A Birth and Triumph of Venus in the Louvre,<sup>53</sup> a Death of Lucretia formerly in the von Nemes Collection at Munich,<sup>54</sup> a birth salver with the Judgment of Paris in the Bargello, Florence,<sup>55</sup> a cassone panel with the Story of Esther belonging to the dealer Paul Bottenwieser at Berlin,<sup>56</sup> and in the Gallery of Fine Arts of Yale University a fresco fragment in which the figure of a woman has inscribed on her gown the name "Artemisia."

The reasons for withdrawing the Walters Story of Hippo from the ranks of Giovanni di Paolo's proper works and considering it as a school piece have been fully given in the first section. It should, therefore, be examined in connection with the other works which have been similarly classified or about which there exists doubt as coming from the master's

47. Catalogue no. 1029. *Walters Gallery, Baltimore, Catalogue of the Paintings* (n. d.), p. 135, no. 756-B (old number). Listed in Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 244, with the title: Story of Camilla. Measurements, 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4' 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ " (.423 m. x 1.300 m.). The record of the source of this painting is contained in the following note.

48. *Ras. d'Arte* (1913), p. 122. The same author, in *Ras. d'Arte* (1907), p. 83, noted a *lato di cassone* in the Simonetti Collection, Rome, interesting for the rarity of its mythological subject in Siennese painting. Schubring, *Cassoni*, p. 325, no. 451, describes a cassone painting with the Story of Hippo by Giovanni di Paolo in the possession of the dealer Simonetti, Rome, formerly in the Cernuschi Collection at Udine, which must be the Walters panel since the measurements given by Schubring match exactly with it. The panel mentioned by Perkins in 1907 is therefore in all certainty the Walters panel which he publishes with an illustration in 1913 as being in a private collection in Rome. This explanation should account for the separate listing given by Marialuisa Gengaro under private collection, and Simonetti, Rome, in *La Diana* (1932), p. 21. Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 183, notes that there are two paintings by Giovanni di Paolo belonging to Simonetti, one with the Story of Hippo, but the subject of the other is not given.

49. For the Story of Hippo, see F. Novati in *Ras. d'Arte* (1911), pp. 61-62, cited by Perkins in *Ras. d'Arte* (1913), p. 122. It is interesting to note in re-

gard to Renaissance permutations of classical authors that Novati's excerpt from Valerius Maximus' account of the fortunes of Hippo does not agree with that taken from the same author by Schubring, *Cassoni*, p. 325. Apparently these references are to different editions of Valerius, although Novati does not name the edition he used. Schubring refers to two, that published in Venice in 1537 (p. 335), and the Antwerp edition of 1601 (p. 325). Pausanias' version of the story was apparently unknown to the Renaissance, cf. Novati, *loc. cit.*, note 4.

50. See Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 126, and Schubring, *Cassoni*, pl. CXV, no. 483.

51. Schubring, *ibid.*, p. 325.

52. Schubring, *ibid.*, reads the scene from right to left, with Hippo having rejoined her friends and moving toward the city at the left. But the sequence of the groups is unintelligible when read in this direction.

53. M. Gengaro in *La Diana* (1932), p. 32. The painting is from the Arconati-Visconti Collection. No reference is given.

54. O. Sirèn in *Burl. Mag.*, XLVI (1925), p. 281, with illustration.

55. B. Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 246. Venturi, *Storia*, Milan, 1911, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 216, fig. 119, calls the work probably Bolognese, and from the reproduction of it the attribution to Giovanni di Paolo seems extremely doubtful.

56. H. Gundersheimer in *Pantheon*, I (1928), p. 132. Formerly in the possession of Kleinberger, Paris.

hand. But as there has been no opportunity for such an examination for the purposes of this paper nothing more definite can be offered than a list of paintings which may in the majority of cases prove to be by Giovanni's assistants or imitators. This list would include of the paintings just mentioned, the Bargello Judgment of Paris, the Bottenwieser Story of Esther, and, more doubtfully, the von Nemes Death of Lucretia. Since no reproduction of the Louvre Birth and Triumph of Venus was available no opinion can be given of it. For the fresco fragment at Yale the student is referred to the Bulletin of the Associates of Fine Arts at Yale University for February, 1936.<sup>57</sup> The awkward and somewhat shaky drawing inclines one to doubt Giovanni's authorship; perhaps the nature of the medium may be held accountable to some extent. Further examples to be included in this list are those contained in van Marle's note devoted to school pieces, wherein the Walters panel is mentioned;<sup>58</sup> the lost panel of the Madonna between Sts. Jerome and Agnes;<sup>59</sup> the Four Female Saints and the Scenes from the Legend of St. Catherine in the Metropolitan Museum; the St. Peter Restoring Tabitha and the St. Catherine Receiving the Stigmata in the Lehman Collection, New York;<sup>60</sup> and the Assumption of the Virgin in a private collection at Rome.<sup>61</sup> Obviously this list does not exhaust the possibilities in the way of school pieces among the works that occur under the name of Giovanni di Paolo; they are merely examples with which the present writer is acquainted which suggest points of likeness with the technique of the Hippo panel. Another group of paintings among which may occur works by assistants is that which comes into consideration below in connection with the Walters altarpiece.

The central panel of this large work<sup>62</sup> shows the Child standing on the lap of the Madonna who is seated on brocaded materials upon an unornamented throne. Before Them kneels in adoration a monk in the habit of a Franciscan with slippers on his feet. On the large panel to the left appears St. Nicholas of Bari, beardless and holding his three bags of gold. The corresponding figure to the right is St. Galganus,<sup>63</sup> patron of Siena, shown making his gesture of renunciation and expiation by plunging his sword into the rock while a small hovering angel blesses the act. Above are seen the figure of Christ blessing and the Annunciation. The figures on the small lateral panels are, to the left, St. Dominic and St. Bartholomew; to the right, St. Francis and St. John the Baptist.

The delineation of the forms on these panels is throughout most summary, careless and insignificant, but particularly noticeable in the Madonna and Child and the St. Nicholas (Fig. 11). The left hand of the latter is notably malformed and boneless, the knuckles are indicated by three rapid parallel strokes in a whitish pigment, the little finger is of abnormal length and hangs as though broken. These features are duplicated in the left hand of the St. Dominic. The face of the St. Nicholas has a gnarled, twisted, almost monstrous appearance, with the eyes askew and set in the face at an impossible angle. The Child is singularly lumpish with fat, puffy, overdeveloped limbs and a high, domed-up ugly head.

57. This issue, with the article by S. L. Faison, Jr., was not available before this paper went to press.

58. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 461, note 1.

59. B. Berenson in *International Studio*, XCVIII (February, 1931), p. 27, and in *Dedalo* (March, 1931), p. 629. A painting of this subject is listed under Giovanni di Paolo in the Lehman Collection, New York, in this author's *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, p. 246.

60. R. Lehman, *The Philip Lehman Collection*, New York, Paris, 1928, pls. XLVIII and XLIX.

61. A. Venturi in *L'Arte* (January, 1931), pp. 43-44.

62. Catalogue no. 554. *Walters Gallery, Baltimore, Catalogue of the Paintings* (n. d.), p. 113. B. Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 244. So far as is known, the work has not been published elsewhere. Its source is unknown, except that it came from Paris and was purchased by Mr. Walters in 1911. The all-over measurements are: 6' 6¾" × 6' 15⅝" (2.003 m. × 1.871 m.).

63. This figure is erroneously termed Ansanus in Berenson's list.

The hard lines denoting the creases in the flesh and the transition between foot and ankle are perfunctory. The composition lacks any pretense to real unity; the blessing Child looks quite beyond the adoring Franciscan who is supposed to receive the blessing; similarly, the blessing Christ above seems to be regarding quite other figures than those about Him. The inward, brooding expression of the faces usual in Sienese painting which gives, even in second-rate examples, a community of feeling between the characters of an altarpiece, is replaced by several bored, blank or empty effects in the faces here—expressions which possibly enough denote the sentiments that animated the painter who executed the altarpiece. There is practically no ornamental detail, except for the designs on the cloth and cushion on the throne which are very clumsily done, as is likewise the tooling of the nimbus. The impression given by the whole is one of crudeness, hastiness and a heavy hand, completely lacking in any decorative distinction or competence in draughtsmanship and without a trace of conviction arising from an idea to be expressed; a routine production of a very low level. In view of these shortcomings it is difficult indeed to consider the altarpiece to be by the hand of Giovanni di Paolo, unless one is to think of him as suffering from moments of decided aberration.

In general character the work belongs with the ruder style of the altarpieces of Giovanni's later manner. No exact comparisons regarding technique and craftsmanship are possible from photographic reproduction—and these features are obscured to a degree in the illustrations given—but some fairly close similarities with other works in morphological features and general conception may be pointed out. The type of the Madonna of the Walters *ancona*, with her long pipe-like nose with its ugly rounded termination, small compressed mouth, staring and slightly squinting eyes, is met with in the Virgin of the Asciano Assumption,<sup>64</sup> in the Magdalen of the Siena polyptych of 1453<sup>65</sup> and the Virgin of the Pienza Cathedral altarpiece of 1463.<sup>66</sup> Giovanni di Paolo's predilection for small figures and his frequent infelicity to the point of grotesqueness with large ones have been often noted.<sup>67</sup> His representations of the Christ Child are rarely happy and in the present category they almost all are monstrous to a degree—a long distance from such graceful Infants of his earlier manner as the Child of the Altenburg panel (no. 76) and of Mr. Maitland Griggs' Madonna between Saints.<sup>68</sup> Ungainly Infants, with sack-like arms and legs and hard demarcating lines of anatomy, appear (besides elsewhere) in the Pienza altarpiece, in the Madonna and Child upheld by two Cherubim at Rocca d'Orcia<sup>69</sup> and in the polyptych of St. John the Divine, New York.<sup>70</sup> The abnormally domed-up head seems to have no parallels in other figures of the Child in Giovanni's large altarpieces, where the heads of the Christ Child tend to be bullet-like, although the high rounded cranium is seen frequently in other figures. Reminiscent of the St. Nicholas are the forceful individuals of the altarpiece with the Madonna and Saints in the Siena gallery (no. 575),<sup>71</sup> the rugged St. Mark<sup>72</sup> of the same gallery and the St. Fabian on the panel formerly in the Robert Ross

64. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 291.

65. No. 173; van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 284.

66. F. Bargagli-Petrucci, *loc. cit.*

67. G. de Nicola in *Burl. Mag.*, XXVIII (1918), pp. 45 ff.; Venturi, *Storia . . .*, VII<sup>1</sup>, p. 498; L. Dami in *Dedalo*, IV (1923/24), p. 269.

68. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, figs. 258 and 279.

69. F. M. Perkins in *La Diana*, VII (1932), p. 51, tav. 12.

70. G. H. Edgell in *Art Studies*, III (1925), pp.

35 ff., fig. 1. Edgell dates this work tentatively about 1438, which seems doubtful on stylistic grounds and improbable, as van Marle (*op. cit.*, p. 460) points out, because of the presence of St. Bernard who died in 1444. The same author accepts van Marle's opinion that the work is by Giacomo del Pisano in his *A Hist. of Sienese Painting*, New York, 1932, p. 222.

71. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 293.

72. No. 195; van Marle, *op. cit.*, fig. 292.



Collection, London, and now in the National Gallery.<sup>73</sup> The rough type of the St. Nicholas is seen again in the frowning, sullen figures of the Holy Bishop and the St. Bernardino of the Friedsam polyptych in the Metropolitan Museum. But there is a categorical difference between this painting and the Walters altarpiece in technical performance. The forms of the Friedsam example are drawn and modeled with exhaustive precision and the details are rendered with minute attention, quite otherwise indeed, than the loose, perfunctory treatment of the Walters painting. These distinctions, which can not be appreciated in reproductions, are of the first importance in gauging the quality of the two works, for they are tantamount to the difference between what is authentic and what is second hand.

A number of the paintings cited above for their points of similarity with the Walters altarpiece have been placed by van Marle into a fairly large group of works which he believes to be, sometimes for the whole picture and sometimes for parts of it, by an unskilled helper of Giovanni's, Giacomo del Pisano, a name derived from one signed work, a large triptych in the van Stolk Museum at Haarlem.<sup>74</sup> There is no means of testing the correctness or essential coherence of this grouping short of a careful scrutiny of the works themselves, for which there has been no opportunity for the present discussion. However, the Walters altarpiece does appear to have definitely more stylistic connections with the group of works assigned to Giacomo del Pisano than with those works which belong with little or no doubt to Giovanni di Paolo himself. In view of the distinctive differences between the two groups van Marle's assumption appears the more plausible; at least, as he maintains, it makes Giovanni's production much more consistent and homogeneous in character. Whether or not Giacomo del Pisano is truly the author of the works which have been assigned to him, and whose manner is discernible, according to van Marle, as early as the Siena Crucifixion of 1440 and who emerges as a definite artistic personality about 1445,<sup>75</sup> is a problem which cannot be resolved here. It is to be doubted that the majority of the works ascribed to Giacomo del Pisano are technically as crude as is the Walters altarpiece. The available evidence places it with the works associated with Giacomo's name, and in any event, it is certainly a school piece, reflecting the rougher gothicism of Giovanni di Paolo's later style.<sup>76</sup>

73. T. Borenus in *Burl. Mag.*, XXVIII (1915/16), p. 3 and plate. The other saint on the panel is St. Sebastian. Borenus gives the work high praise, calling attention to the delicate drawing and fine pale colors. In the good reproduction, however, the forms look heavy and knobby, the eyes of the St. Fabian are out of plane and his hands are gnarled and malformed. The general conception seems rude and anything but inspired, an appraisal with which van Marle (*op. cit.*, p. 458), is in agreement; van Marle, indeed, ascribes the work to the awkward Giacomo del Pisano.

74. R. van Marle, *Il Problema riguardante Giovanni di Paolo e Giacomo del Pisano*, in *Bollettino*

*d'Arte* . . . (1924/25), pp. 529-542, and *idem, op. cit.*, pp. 452 ff. and *passim*. Brandi is quite against this hypothesis (*op. cit.*, p. 472, and *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1903, p. 93); Weigelt (in Thieme und Becker, XIV, p. 133), reserves judgment; Edgell accepts it (*A Hist. of Sienese Painting, loc. cit.*).

75. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

76. The colors of the Walters altarpiece are, like those of the Hippo panel, of a simple description, and they are, moreover, rather hard and harsh in quality. Cleaning might improve them somewhat. But they show none of the range, variations, and delicate blends for which Giovanni di Paolo is noted.

## A PAIR OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BRESCIAN PISTOLS

By STEPHEN V. GRANCSAY

WHEN several masters collaborate in executing a work of art and each of them signs his part of the work, one is forewarned that the object should be one of distinction. Such an instance occurs in the Walters Art Gallery, which exhibits a brace of flintlock pistols (Fig. 1) each of which bears the signatures of the three masters who made them. The locks are engraved "Piero Alsa in Brescia," the stocks are stamped "Gio. Marno in Bresia fece," and the barrels are stamped with the name "Gio. Batt. Francino." I have been unable to find any information about two of these artists, and but little is known about Francino. He was a barrelsmith of Gardone and Brescia, and his name appears in the following entry of 1646 in Evelyn's *Diary*: "We came this evening to Brescia, which next morning we traversed according to our custom in search of antiquities and new sights. Here I purchased of old Lazarino Cominazzo<sup>1</sup> my fine carbine, which cost me 9 pistoles,<sup>2</sup> this city being famous for these firearmes, and that workman with Jo. Bap. Franco, the best esteem'd."

Francino is known to us mainly by the splendid pieces bearing his name which have survived. Without having made a thorough study, I have been able to locate nineteen signed items by this master and numerous other arms by members of the same family. This list, which is given as an appendix, shows several instances of a sculptor in iron collaborating with Francino, and in one instance the stock is inscribed, but by a different woodcarver, "Barto' Bon Fadino," than the one who made the Walters stocks. Among outstanding Francino pistols may be mentioned a pair of pistols in the Royal Armory at Turin (nos. 41-42) which Major Angelo Angelucci, its late curator, considered to be "the most precious jewels in this rich armory." The barrels of the Turin firearms have the same inscription as the Walters pistols, and on the interior of the lockplate is inscribed the name of the metal chaser, "Carolus Bottarelli Brixiensis Fecit in 1665." The same inscription appears on the other lock with the date 1666. Another pair of Francino wheellock pistols in the Zeughaus in Berlin has the locks signed "Carlo Bottarello." The inscription "Carlo Bottarello Brescia" also appears on the blade of a seventeenth century dirk with handle of ivory sculptured with a caryatid, in the Reubell Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I have emphasized this last name to show that sculptors whether in steel, ivory, or other material often collaborated in the building of a pistol.

The Walters pistols are entirely of Brescian workmanship, date about 1670, rank with the best in execution and gracefulness in lines and proportions, and have a good balance. They are a pair. Each weighs 0.8 kg., and the overall length is 22¾ inches.

1. Major Angelo Angelucci has published his researches on the Cominazzo family of barrel makers. No additional material has been published since. Signed Cominazzo pistols may be seen in the principal national armor museums, especially in Berlin, Dresden, London,

Madrid, Moscow, New York, Paris, Stockholm, and Turin.

2. This cost may be compared with the contemporary value of a horse which was eight pistoles.



FIG. 1—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Brace of Brescian Pistols





FIG. 2—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Detail of Brescian Pistol*



FIG. 3—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Butt Plate of Brescian Pistol*

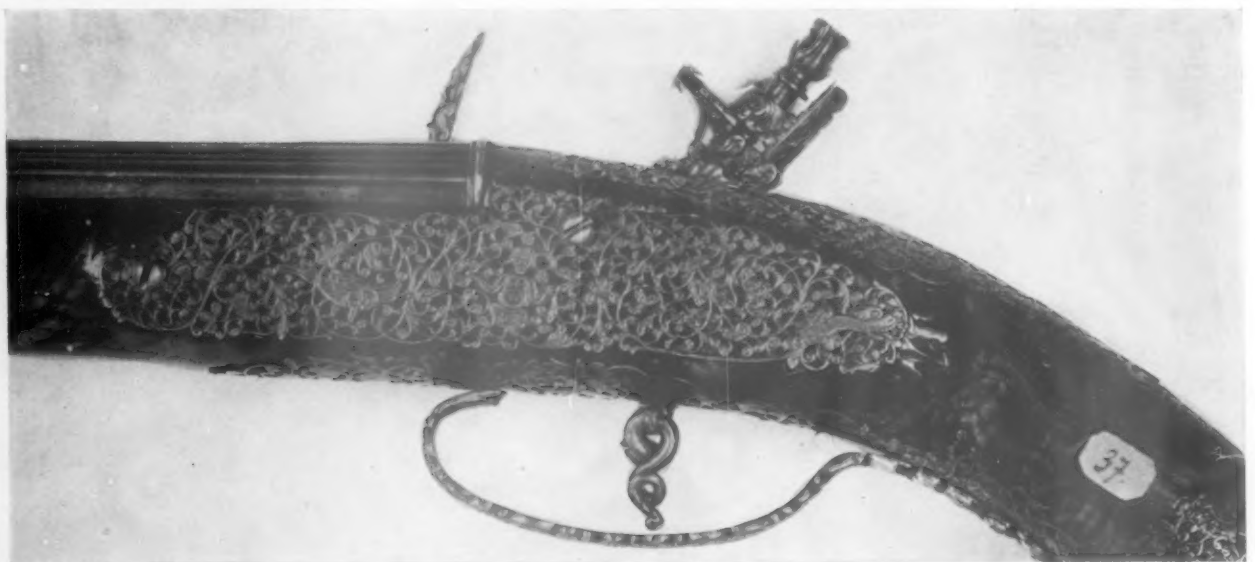


FIG. 4—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Detail of Brescian Pistol*

The stocks of walnut burl have a dark patina and each is signed below the lock (Fig. 2). The design of the lacelike mountings was impressed and carved in the stocks, a meticulous task on the part of the woodcarver.

The mountings are models of rich Brescian sculpture and perforated work in iron. They are delicate yet substantial, in harmony with the lace which formed an important part of a cavalier's costume of the period. Their lacelike pierced work (Fig. 4) was executed by an artist with seemingly infallible hands, for it is of incredible fineness. The design was first slightly etched on a thin strip of iron  $\frac{1}{32}$  inch thick, merely to guide the artist. The perforated areas were then punched out and finished with needle files, and finally the surface was engraved. The motifs include foliation, delicate tendrils, human and half figures, birds, dolphins, and chimerae. The butt plate (Fig. 3) has similar motifs, but it is executed in a different technique. It is sculptured in relief, the trained hand of the craftsman having moved and raised the metal carefully and adroitly. The butt plate is fastened by a screw the head of which is chased as an entwined serpent. A similar entwined serpent forms the trigger, and the trigger guard is pierced, chased, and engraved. Two pierced ramrod pipes are secured to the forestock, and both pistols retain their ramrods as well as the chased baluster tips the shank of which fits into the split end of the ramrod and is secured by studs.

The locks represent the highest mechanical and technical skill of the period in which they were made. The mechanism is the typical flintlock construction, the trigger moving a single lever elbow (Fig. 5). The mainspring is fitted on the inside of the lockplate, as was usual in North Italy, whereas those of South Italy, favoring the Spanish system, have the mainspring on the outside. The springs are made of good flawless metal. The signed lockplate (Fig. 6) is chased with foliation, a dolphin, and a winged chimerical animal. The head of the pivotal bolt of the hammer is chased as an entwined serpentlike creature. The winged chimerical animal of the lockplate is repeated on the neck of the hammer in a different pose. The head of the screw adjusting the jaws of the hammer is chased with acanthus leaves, and the base of the priming pan and the frizzen are chased with masks. Even parts of the interior mechanism are ornamented, especially the frizzen spring the outer edge of which is undulated to simulate a serpent. Two features of the lock are worthy of mention, first, the upright neck (with decoration of curled chimerical animal) of the hammer, and second, the interior frizzen spring. In both these respects the lock is not unlike those which were designed by Philippe Cordier Daubigny<sup>3</sup> and which are dated 1665.

The superiority of Brescian barrels was long recognized. Aside from embellishment, they were sought for the quality of their metal which was light in weight, yet strong. They were exported by the case, the locks and fittings having frequently been made and mounted abroad. The barrels of our pistols were made of a short piece of cylindrical steel drilled and drawn, first hot, and finally cold.<sup>4</sup> They are  $15\frac{9}{16}$  inches long and of  $1\frac{7}{32}$  inch smooth bore. The barrel of one pistol registers a hardness of 23–25, the other 26–29 on a Shore Standard Scleroscope, indicating that they are of good cold worked wrought iron. The

3. Philippe Daubigny: eight plates (16 figures) representing two flintlocks, a wheellock, a spanner, details of pistol hammers, etc., Paris, chez van Merlen, 1665, 8°. There are numerous published books of designs for firearms, notably those by Bérain, Daubigny, de la Colombe, Guérard, Jacquard, Marcou, Simonin, Thuraime and Le Hollandois.

4. There were many ways of making barrels: (1) a strip of metal was bent while hot around a mandril,

and the two edges welded together; (2) a strip of metal was coiled and welded; (3) a cylindrical bar of solid steel was bored from the muzzle end; (4) a cylindrical bar of solid steel was bored from both ends meeting at the center; (5) two barrels, both drawn, were shrunk one over the other; (6) a small bar of cylindrical steel was drilled and drawn hot, and finally drawn cold.

barrels are blued and faceted, the lower surfaces are plain, the upper surfaces rounded and provided with longitudinal ribs, giving the effect of a round barrel. Transverse ridges are found at the muzzle, the breech, and behind the center. Near the breech in two of the grooves is stamped the maker's name. Two loops through which pass the bolts for securing the barrel to the stock, are swagged into the lowest facet of the barrel. On the lowest facet of each barrel near the breech is stamped the letter A. This may possibly be a test mark, for pistol barrels were severely proof-tested. The breech chamber and tang are forged in one piece.

The use of pistols of this richness was restricted to noble families and to citizens of great wealth and influence. They were made as a personal adornment as well as for use. At this period, firearms were still dangerous to handle, and we are so informed by Pepys in the following account in his *Diary*: "March 29, 1667. To the Bull-Head Taverne, whither was brought my French gun: and one Truelocke, the famous gunsmith, that is a mighty ingenious man, did take my gun in pieces, and made me understand the secrets thereof; and upon the whole I do find it a very good piece of work, and truly wrought; but for certain not a thing to be used much with safety; and he do find that this very gun was never yet shot off." Even the Brown Bess, which for a century and a half (until 1840) was the regulation arm of the British army, was merely considered to be a good handle for a bayonet!

Our pistols are not as efficient lethal arms as those of today, but they are works of art of distinguished provenance. Brescia was the greatest rival of Milan in the making of arms and armor. A famous swordsmith, Serafino da Brescia, worked for Charles V and Francis I, the latter ennobling him. In 1646 Evelyn wrote in Brescia: "This city consists most in artists, every shop abounding in gunns, swords, armorers, &c. Most of the workmen come out of Germanie." The harness which was presented by the Republic of Venice in 1668 to Louis XIV of France was engraved by Franz Garbagnaus (Garbagnaner), a German who worked in Brescia till 1688. Today this suit is one of the treasures of the Musée de l'Armée in Paris. Available contracts show that thousands of firearms were made there in the course of a month.<sup>5</sup> Our single pair of pistols could scarcely have been completed in so brief a time.

5. Bibliography of Brescian Firearms: Angelo Angelucci, *Catalogo dell' Armeria Reale*, Torino, 1890, pp. 425-428, footnote; Wendelin Boeheim, *Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst vom XIV. bis ins XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1897: Cominazzo, pp. 52-54, and Francino, pp. 70-71; F. Mariani, *Di alcuni contratti per forniture di armi del secolo XVII*, in *Rivista d'Artiglieria e Genio*, XVI (1899), pp. 257-262 (contract between the Camera Apostolica in Rome and the Brescian merchants Mario Moroni and Marc' Antonio Riva, residing in Rome, to furnish arms made in Brescia, 1624-1625); Luigi Marzioli, *L'industria delle*

*armi nel territorio Bresciano*, Brescia (n.d.), 15 pp., ill.; *Armi Bresciane, Catalogo delle armi esposte*, Armeria Luigi Marzioli, Brescia, 1932, 32 pp., ill.; J. R. Mayer, *A Pair of Pistols in the Brescian Form and Some Notes on the Cominazzi*, in *Arms Quarterly* (of the Arms Reference Club of America), I (1933), pp. 81-83, figs.; Moscow, *Opis' Moskovskoi Oruzheinoi Palaty* (Inventory of the Moscow Museum of Armament), Moscow, 1884-1893, 10 vols., 500 pls. Part V, Book IV (Vol. VIII) lists numerous firearms of Brescian make.



## APPENDIX

## FIREARMS BY GIOVANNI BATTISTA FRANCINO OF BRESCIA

<i>Collection</i>	<i>Barrel signed</i>	<i>Lock signed</i>
BALTIMORE. Walters Art Gallery Flintlock pistols, pr.	Gio. Batt. Francino	Piero Alsa in Brescia. (Stock stamped below lock: Gio. Marno in Bresia fece.)
BERLIN. Staatliche Zeughaus Wheellock pistols, pr. Wheellock pistols, pr.	Gio. Batt. Francino Gio. Batt. Francino	Carlo Bottarello
LONDON. The Tower Armouries Wheellock pistol (XII.732) Wheellock pistol (XII.733)	Gio. Batt. Francino Gio. Batt. Francino	
LONDON. Wallace Collection Wheellock pistols, pr. (No. 871) Flintlock pistols, pr. (No. 902) Wheellock pistol (No. 907)	Gio. Batt. Francino Gio Battista Franzzino Gio. Batt. Francino	Stefano Scioli (Stock stamped: Barto' Bon Fadino.)
MADRID. Armeria Real Wheellock pistols, pr. (K.88-89)  Wheellock pistols, pr. (K.119-120)	Gio. Batt. Francino  G. B. Franci	Mark on inside: C R crowned Mark on inside: B P crowned
MOSCOW. Oruzejnaja Palata Pistols, pr. (No. 7992)	Gio. Batt. Francino	
NEW YORK. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Snaphaunce pistol (19.53.44)	Gio Batt Francino	Cavillin F
PARIS. Musée de l'Armée Wheellock gun (M.200) Flintlock gun (M.559) Wheellock pistol (M.1678)	Gio-Batt Francino Gio Batt Francino Gio Batt Francino	
TURIN. Armeria Reale Wheellock pistols, pr. (N.41,42)  Pistols, pr. (U.96,97)	Gio. Batt. Francino  G B Francino	Carolus Bottarelli Brixiensis Fecit in 1665. (Second lock bears same inscription and date 1666.) Bergonze

<i>Collection</i>	<i>Barrel signed</i>	<i>Lock signed</i>
VIENNA. Kunsthistorisches Museum (Hofburg)		
Snaphaunce gun (No. 168)	Giov. Batt. Francino	(Mountings by Marco F. Antonio in Brescia. Stock by Bortolo Rosini.)
MACKAY COLLECTION		
Flintlock pistols, pr.	Gio. Batt. Francino	

## FIREARMS BY THE FRANCINO FAMILY OF BRESCIA

DRESDEN. Gewehrgalerie		
Guns (Nos. 1419, 1420)	Giocotto Francino	
Gun (No. 1437)	Alisandro Franzino	
LONDON. The Tower Armories		
Flintlock pistol (XII.872)	Antonio Franzino	Gio Battazanti
MADRID. Armeria Real		
Flintlock pistols, pr. (K.220-221)	Antonio-Franzino	Antonio Venasolo in Brescia
MOSCOW. Oruzejnaja Palata		
Firearm (No. 7009)	Annibale Francino	Philippo Moretto
Firearm (No. 8070)	Annibale Francino	Antonio Moretti
NEW YORK. The Metropolitan Museum of Art		
Flintlock pistols, pr. (28.196.17-18)	Girolamo Francino	
KEASBEY COLLECTION (Sale, American Art Association, 1924)		
Wheellock pistol (Lot 140)	Antonio Francino	
SCHEREMETEW COLLECTION		
Gun (No. 899)	Antonio Franzino	

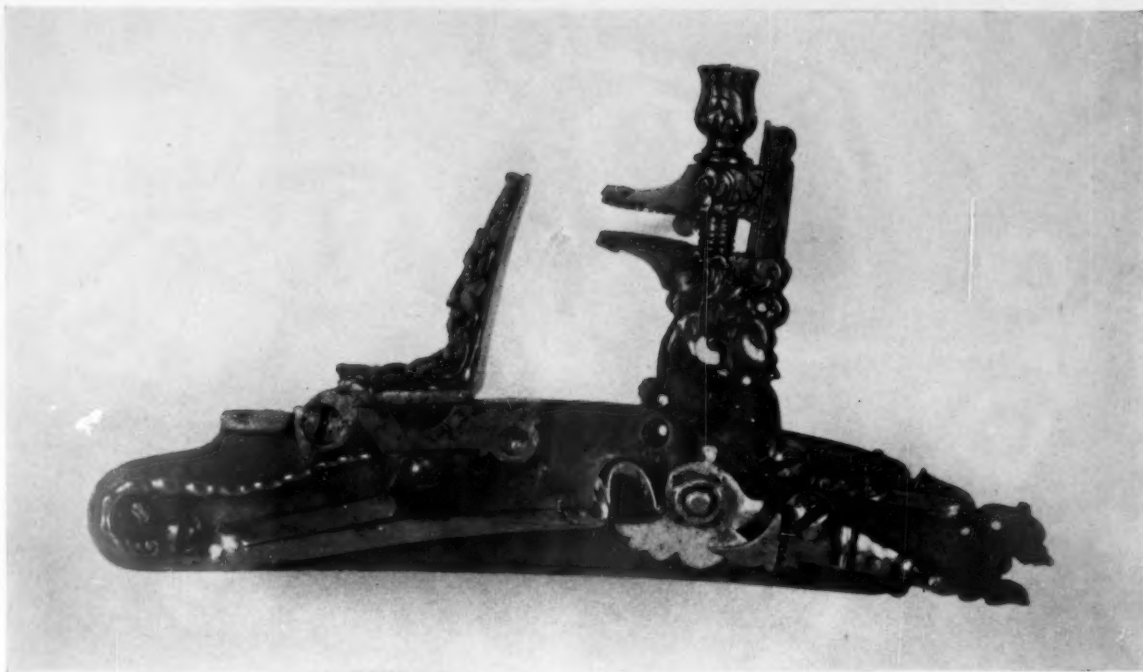


FIG. 5—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Lock of Brescia Pistol*

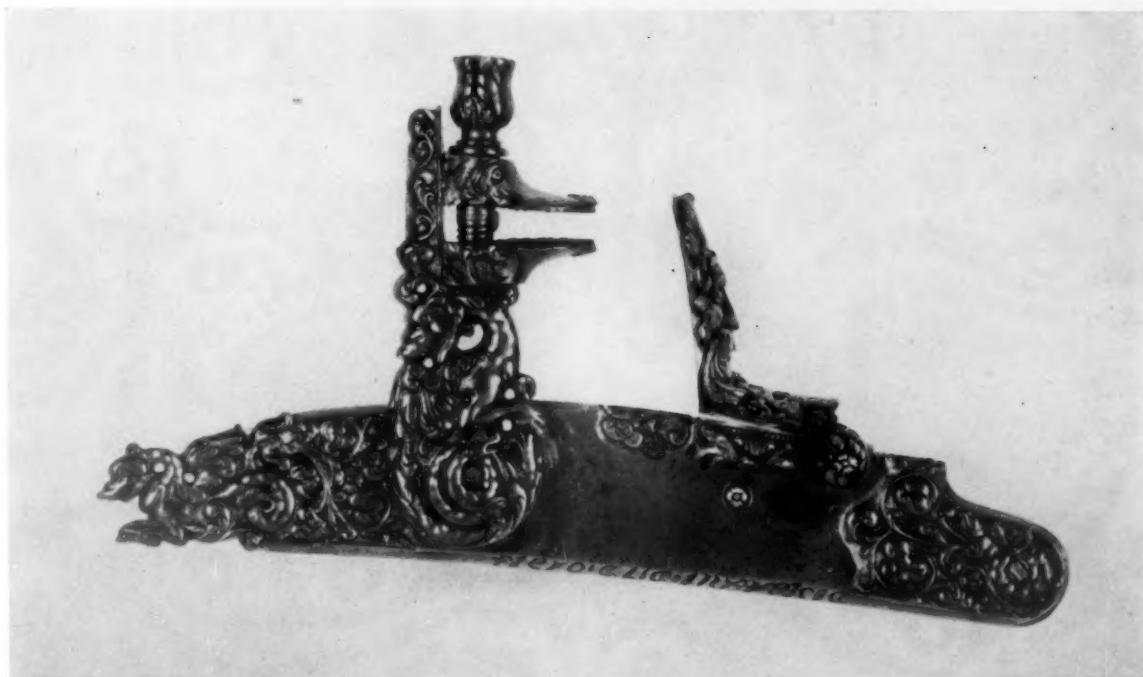


FIG. 6—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Lock of Brescia Pistol*





FIG. 1—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Centerpiece of the Surtout de Table for the Duc d'Orléans,  
*Tiger Hunt*, Antoine Louis Barye

# THE ORIGIN OF BARYE'S TIGER HUNT

By GEORGE HEARD HAMILTON

IN the history of the appreciation in this country of the work of Antoine Louis Barye, a prominent place must be given to the industry and enthusiasm of Mr. William T. Walters. When Mr. Walters first went to Paris in 1861 he was introduced to the sculptor by his friend and fellow-Baltimorean, Mr. George A. Lucas, who had settled permanently in France four years before. The friendship which developed continued until the artist's death in 1875. About that time Mr. Walters, who had already formed a collection of Barye's work with the advice and encouragement of Mr. Lucas, determined to promote a larger understanding of Barye in this country. To that end he presented to the city of Baltimore a bronze replica of the Seated Lion and bronze reductions of the four groups, Peace, War, Force and Order from the Pavillons Richelieu and Denon of the Louvre. These five sculptures were placed in Mt. Vernon Square where they formed the first public monument erected in memory of Barye. Previously, in 1873, Mr. Walters, in his position as trustee of the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, had ordered for that institution a replica of each of Barye's bronzes. Mr. Walters also gave generous support to the movement to raise a fund for the erection of a monument to the sculptor in Paris and presided over the exhibition of Barye's work which was held for the benefit of the fund in New York in the winter of 1889-1890. To this exhibition Mr. Walters loaned one hundred and thirty-nine bronzes and water colors. Today the collection, augmented by Mr. Henry Walters, numbers one hundred and ninety-three objects, including bronzes, paintings and water colors. Mr. Lucas' collection of Barye's work also found a home in Baltimore, for on his death in 1909 he bequeathed them, together with his large collection of paintings and prints, to the Maryland Institute.<sup>1</sup> This intense enthusiasm on the part of Mr. Walters and Mr. Lucas for the sculptor who was so little appreciated in his own country has had the happy result that the study of Barye can be undertaken with particular profit in Baltimore.

It is indeed appropriate that one of the first large collections of Barye's work should contain a group of his most important bronzes. Mr. Walters was singularly fortunate in securing the five groups which were intended as the chief embellishment of the gigantic *surtout de table* ordered by the Duc d'Orléans, the eldest son of Louis Philippe.<sup>2</sup> The Tiger Hunt (Fig. 1), which was designed as the centerpiece, forms the subject of this present study.

1. The water colors and drawings by Barye are now on indefinite loan at the Baltimore Museum of Art.

2. The long and involved history of the *surtout* has been often recounted (cf. Roger Ballu, *L'Oeuvre de Barye*, Paris, 1890, pp. 56-58, 72-78), and may be briefly summarized here. It was originally planned that Barye should model nine groups of various animals and human figures to be cast in silver. The Duke subsequently ordered the architect Aimé Chenavard to design an elaborate setting of bronze ornamented with lapis and other semi-precious stones. The consequent size and costliness of the ensemble proved too much for the

Duke. An additional factor which precipitated the failure to carry out the original scheme was the lack of sympathy between Barye and the consulting architect. The nine groups, however, were eventually cast in bronze and became the property of the Duke. In 1863 his widow sold the collection at auction. The Tiger Hunt, as well as the Elk Hunt and Bear Hunt were bought by Prince Demidoff, in whose possession they remained until his sale in 1870. They entered the Walters collection before 1885. The Ox Hunt was purchased by Lutteroth and the Lion Hunt by Montessier. The former was acquired by Mr. Walters before

In the life of Barye the year 1831 appears as a most significant point in his development, for in the Salon of that year he exhibited his group entitled *Tiger Devouring a Gavial* which won a second medal and was purchased by the state. The work provoked a certain amount of critical discussion and served to bring Barye's name prominently before the public for the first time. Louis Philippe himself expressed his pleasure by commissioning a portrait bust from the sculptor.

Such recognition was not premature. The artist was now thirty-five years of age. Behind him were the long years of apprenticeship to the engraver Fourrier and the jeweler Fauconnier, his work in the studios of Bosio and Gros, the five unsuccessful attempts to win the Prix de Rome, and his studies of anatomy and zoology. At last the years of labor and insignificance had borne distinguished fruit. The *Tiger Devouring a Gavial* remains one of his most typical and forceful creations.

While the bust of Louis Philippe appears never to have been executed, the Salon of 1833 contained a bust of the Duc d'Orléans, said to have been commissioned by the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works.<sup>3</sup> The bust must have pleased the Prince for in the following year he ordered the *surtout de table*.<sup>4</sup>

The *Tiger Hunt*,<sup>5</sup> which was to form the centerpiece of the whole huge ensemble was probably undertaken first, if we may draw such a conclusion from the fact that it was also the first group to be cast in bronze.<sup>6</sup> Its composition must have presented something of a problem to the sculptor, for in a certain sense it is an entirely imaginary composition. Barye, who scarcely ever moved from Paris, had no first-hand knowledge of India. And it was exceedingly unlikely that in the Paris of 1834 one would be able to observe an Indian tiger hunt, complete with elephants and trappings. From his studies at the Jardin des Plantes and his reading of anatomical treatises, he was doubtless acquainted with the structure of an elephant. But for the details of the harness of an Indian elephant he was forced to rely on other sources. The nature of these sources is found in a small sketchbook in which he jotted down various notes and sketches at this time.<sup>7</sup>

A *terminus ante quem* for the date of the sketchbook is suggested by the numerous drawings of a crocodile which occur on the first pages. The majority of these sketches would be too fragmentary to permit their connection with any definite work, were it not that a clue is offered in two places. On fol. 6v we find a series of measurements for the body of a reptile under the heading "dimensions du petit gavial."<sup>8</sup> These measurements

1889, and the latter at some date between 1889 and his death in 1894. The five smaller groups have never been traced.

3. Cf. Ballu, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

4. Charles De Kay is mistaken when he says that the nine groups were finished and cast in 1834. Cf. De Kay, *Barye*, New York, 1889, p. 148. The *Tiger Hunt* is dated 1836; the *Lion Hunt*, 1837; the *Bear, Elk and Ox Hunts*, 1838.

5. Height 27¾ inches (0.703 m.). Cast entirely *à cire perdue* with the exception of the weapons held by the hunters. The elephant's tail and the right arm of the hunter on the left side of the howdah are separate pieces, perhaps replacing parts damaged during casting. The base is signed, BARYE, and inscribed, BRONZE D'UN JET SANS CISELURE FONDU A L'HOTEL D'ANGIVILLIERS PAR HONORE GONON ET SES DEUX FILS.

6. Cf. note 4 above.

7. This sketchbook was formerly the property of Mr. George A. Lucas and is now in the collection of

the Maryland Institute in Baltimore. It consists of thirty-two leaves, each measuring approximately 3¾ × 6 inches (0.095 m. × 0.155 m.), and contains in addition to the notes and sketches mentioned above, several drawings of various animals, details of tropical foliage and a woodland scene. The drawings are in pencil with the exception of three studies of a leopard which have been heightened with ink. The sketches are often the merest suggestions of outlines and would appear to indicate that the book was used only occasionally and over a considerable period of time. In addition to the sketches discussed in the text, several drawings have a more remote connection with such bronzes as the *Horse Surprised by a Young Lion*, of 1833, and the *Panther Devouring a Gazelle*, of 1834. Two other sketches appear to be early suggestions for the *Roger and Angelica on the Hippogriff*, of 1840, and the *Ape Riding a Gnu*, of 1842.

8. The gavial, *Gavialis gangeticus*, which inhabits the rivers of India, differs from the crocodiles proper in its very long and slender snout and the peculiar forma-





FIG. 2—*Baltimore, Maryland Institute: Barye Sketchbook (Fol. 4r),  
Drawings of Jaws of a Gavial, Actual Size*

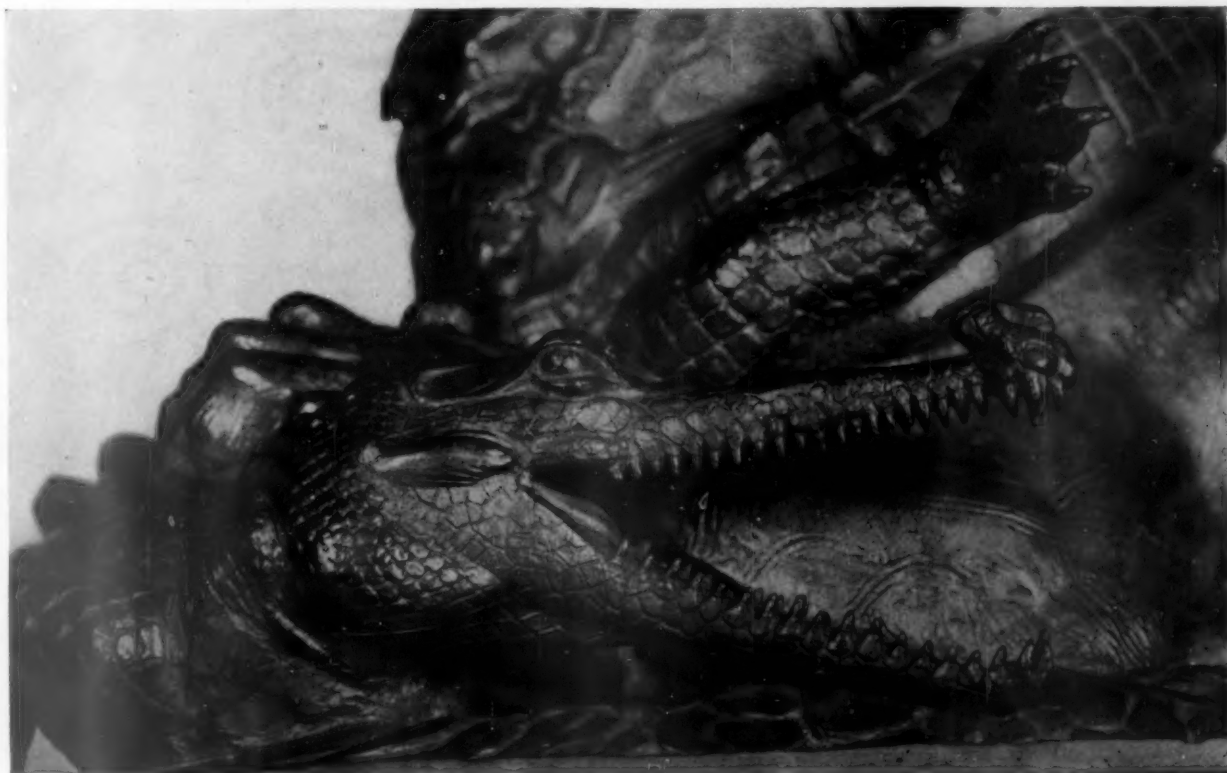


FIG. 3—*Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: Tiger Devouring a Gavial, Detail of Gavial, Actual Size*

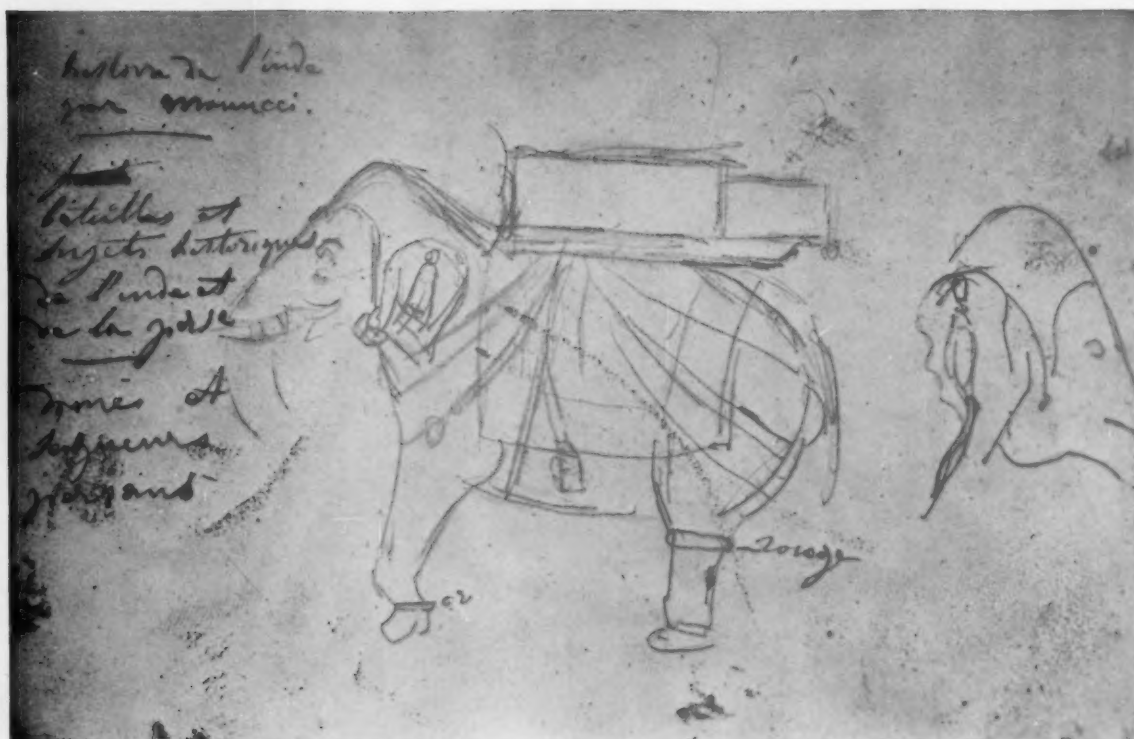


FIG. 4—Baltimore, Maryland Institute: Barye Sketchbook (Fol. 20r),  
Drawing of Elephants, Actual Size

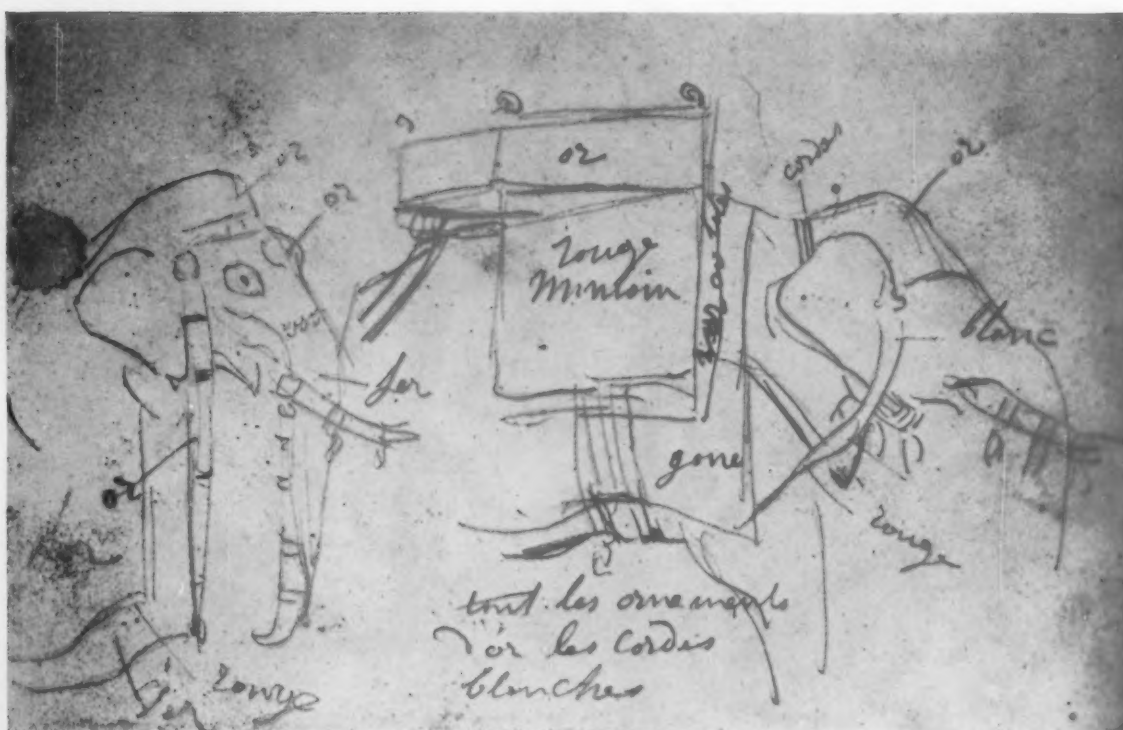


FIG. 5—Baltimore, Maryland Institute: Barye Sketchbook (Fol. 19v),  
Drawing of Elephants, Actual Size

are copied directly from Daudin's *Histoire Naturelle . . . des Reptiles*.<sup>9</sup> It is apparent that Barye was studying the structure of the gavial, and since this particular reptile occurs in the group of the Tiger Devouring a Gavial of 1831 and not again in his later work, we may conclude that these first pages were filled during 1830. Lastly, an even more conclusive piece of evidence is provided by a comparison between the drawings of a gavial's mouth and nostrils<sup>10</sup> found on fol. 4r and the identical feature on the reptile in the bronze group (Figs. 2 and 3).

It was in this same sketchbook that Barye set down what are probably the results of his first investigations of the problem of the Tiger Hunt. On fols. 19v and 20r occur four sketches of an Indian elephant (Figs. 4 and 5). On the margin of fol. 20r<sup>11</sup> Barye has noted a reference which indicates not only the source of these studies, but the extent of his reading and the seriousness with which he approached his work. The notation, "histoire de l'Inde par Manucci," refers to the volume of portraits of the Mogul emperors and princes of India which were copied by the Indian painter, Mir Muhammed, sometime before 1686, from the originals in the Royal Palace at Delhi, at the order of Niccolao Manucci, the historian of Mogul India.<sup>12</sup> This volume, which had almost as many adventures as Barye's *surtout*, was removed by the French from the Library of St. Mark's in Venice in 1797. Rebound at Paris and entitled *Histoire de l'Inde depuis Tamerlank jusqu'à Orangzeb, par Manucci*, it is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>13</sup> A comparison of Barye's sketch (Fig. 4) with the elephant in the portrait of the emperor Akbar (Fig. 9)<sup>14</sup> suggests the extent of Barye's debt. He has indicated in a summary fashion the significant details of the elaborate trappings, as well as the outline of the howdah in which are seated the emperor and his attendant. The identification of Barye's sketch with this particular portrait of Akbar is completed by the circumstance that the small tassel, which is suspended from the elephant's ear, does not occur in any of the other illustrations of elephants in the series of portraits. Lastly, the feeble delineation of the lower legs and feet in the drawing are explained when one observes that the corresponding features in the portrait of Akbar are concealed by the crowd of attendants.

The sketches on the opposite page (Fig. 5) present a more developed treatment of similar details.<sup>15</sup> The howdah is represented in an elementary three-dimensional form, while the long horse-hair tassel depending from the ear and the broad band of ropes passing around the elephant's body are details which appear in the final bronze version.

From such sketches as these Barye composed his group, which next appears in a very

tion of its nostrils. Cf. H. F. Gadow, *Crocodile*, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh edition, VII, pp. 478-479.

9. Cf. F. M. Daudin, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière, des reptiles*, Paris, An. XIII, II, p. 392. This work is noted by Barye on fol. 1r of the notebook as "histoire des reptiles par daudin." In addition he has jotted down, "memoire de cuvier sur les crocodiles . . . cahier des annales du muséum d'histoire naturelle." This refers either to Georges Cuvier's essay, *Sur les différentes espèces de crocodiles vivans et sur leurs caractères distinctifs*, in *Annales du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*, Paris, 1807, pp. 8-66, or to the same author's *Observations sur l'ostéologie des crocodiles vivans*, in *op. cit.*, XII (1808), pp. 1-26. Both papers are illustrated with engravings of crocodiles which are related to Barye's sketches, although it would appear more likely that the latter were drawn from specimens preserved in the museum itself.

10. Cf. Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, *Recherches sur l'organisation des gavials*, in *Mémoires du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*, Paris, 1825, XII, pp. 97-155. Barye's drawings have a certain resemblance to similar features in the plates illustrating the above paper.

11. The drawings on these pages of the notebook are reversed, or upside down in relation to the book as a whole. The first page under consideration is, therefore, fol. 20r rather than fol. 19v.

12. Cf. William Irvine's introduction to his translation of Manucci's history of Mogul India, *Storia do Mogor*, London, 1907, I, pp. lii-lvi. This work contains photographic reproductions of the fifty-six paintings.

13. Cabinet des Estampes, O. D., no. 45 (reserve).

14. Manucci, *op. cit.*, I, pl. VIII.

15. These drawings, which do not correspond to any of the portraits of Manucci, were doubtless made from volumes noted by Barye on fol. 20r, "batailles



developed form in a measured drawing (Fig. 6).<sup>16</sup> Barye had now determined the chief elements of the composition.<sup>17</sup> The elephant is seen from the right side. From their position in the howdah, a hunter and his two attendants repel the attack of two tigers, one of which attempts to drag the men from the howdah while the other has plunged his claws into the hind leg of the elephant. The attendants are armed only with a stick and spear, while the hunter is clothed in a suit of chain mail and holds a shield and a *katar*, an unusual form of dagger or knife which is of great antiquity in India.<sup>18</sup>

Barye seems to have had some doubt as to the effect of the composition when seen from this particular angle, and he wished to study the effect of the action as it would appear when taking place on the elephant's left side. He therefore reversed the composition, as may be seen in a watercolor from the Lucas Collection (Fig. 7).<sup>19</sup> The elements are essentially the same, but an awkward situation arises when the composition is so literally turned around. Now the hunter holds his shield in his right hand and his *katar* in his left. To avoid this awkwardness would have required too great a rearrangement of the figures, and Barye returned to his original conception.

The next step was to model the group in plaster. For such a large and involved composition numerous models were undoubtedly required, but unfortunately only one has survived (Fig. 8)<sup>20</sup> which is now in the Louvre. It represents the elephant mounted only by the driver. While it varies in a few minor points from the final version, such as in the position of the tail, the tusks, and the treatment of the base, the most significant difference is in the length of the elephant's body. While the plaster model represents a more convincing animal, the elephant's back is not long enough to hold the howdah with the group of figures. Accordingly in the final model Barye made the body of the elephant approximately one-tenth longer than in the plaster model.

The bronze (Fig. 1) presents no striking difference from the drawing and water color previously discussed. It is the logical completion of an idea which had been carefully studied and recorded before the actual modeling took place. The sculptor has improved the position of the tiger, so that the rhythm of its body as it springs upon the elephant forms a powerful complement to the main movement of the larger beast. From his study of the Indian portraits and other works, Barye has retained the essential details of the harness. The long horse-hair tassel is not only present, but has been used as one of the more dramatic elements in the composition, since it echoes the line of the elephant's tail and to a lesser degree the lines of the trunk and tusks and the tiger's tail as well. The three straps with their pendent ornaments which pass around the breast and hindquarters of the elephant have been reduced to one. And the saddle blanket which in the Indian

(?) et sujets historiques de l'Inde et de la Perse," and "dames et seigneurs persans." While these titles have not yet been identified it seems probable that they refer to volumes of illuminations, since Barye had indicated the colors of the various parts of the harness.

16. This drawing is reproduced in Ballu, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 74, and by Charles Sprague Smith in *Barbizon Days*, New York, 1902, opp. p. 195. In each case neither the measurements nor the sources are indicated. It is possible that this drawing is identical with the drawing which was given to the Louvre by M. Zoubaloff in 1914. The latter is mentioned by Paul Vitry in *Une nouvelle donation d'oeuvres de Barye au Musée du Louvre*, in *Les Musées de France*, Paris, 1914, supplément, no. 2, as "Étude pour la Chasse au Tigre, l'éléphant monté." The present writer has not had an op-

portunity to examine the Louvre drawing and has not found that it has been reproduced.

17. As the details in the reproduction of this drawing are not very clear, the reader may examine the final version in bronze (Fig. 1) where the identical elements are present.

18. Cf. George Cameron Stone, *The Indian Gauntlet Sword—Pata*, in *A Miscellany of Arms and Armor . . . presented . . . to Bashford Dean*, New York, 1928, p. 53 and fig. 2.

19. On indefinite loan at the Baltimore Museum of Art: 17 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 24 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches.

20. Plaster retouched with wax: height, 0.69 m.; length, 0.83 m. The illustration is taken from *Les Musées de France*, *loc. cit.*, pl. VII.

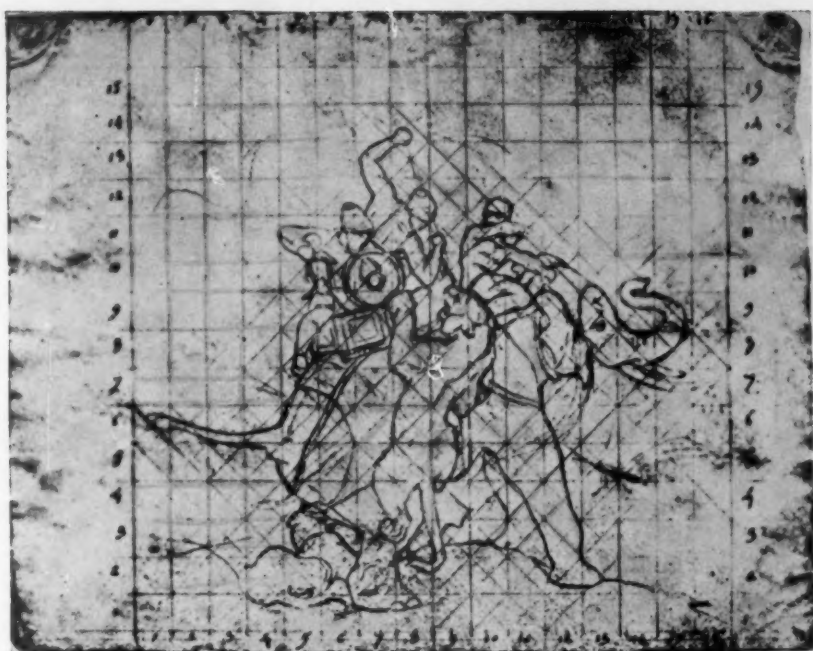


FIG. 6—*Drawing for Tiger Hunt by Barye*



FIG. 7—*Baltimore, Museum of Art, Lucas Collection: Watercolor of Tiger Hunt, by Barye*



FIG. 8—Paris, Louvre: Plaster and Wax Model for *Tiger Hunt*, by Barye

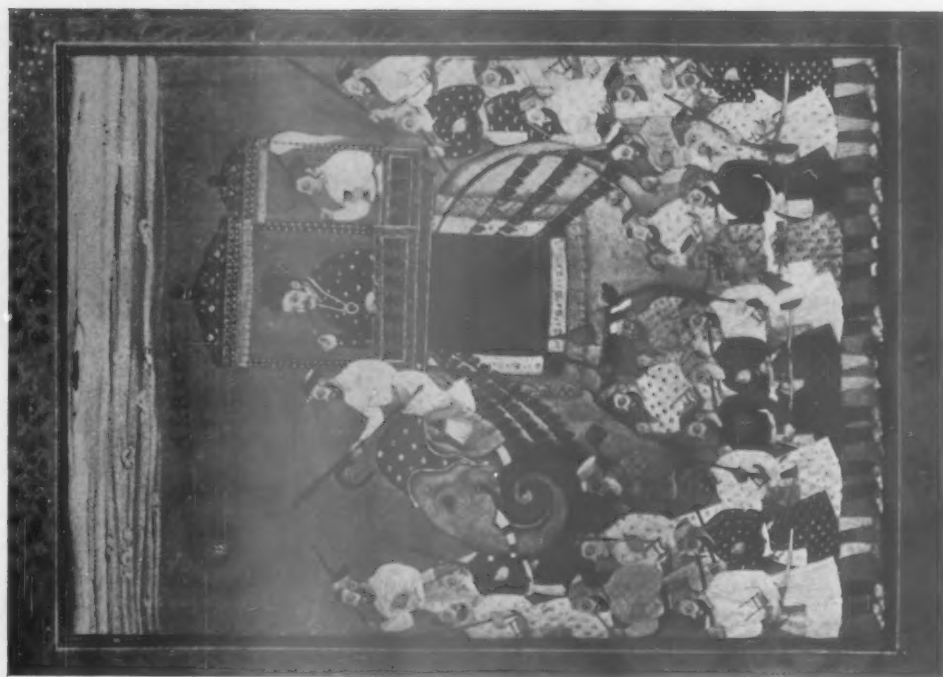


FIG. 9—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Manucci,  
*Histoire de l'Inde*, Akbar



painting appears as a rug laid over a larger piece of material has been replaced by a single blanket ornamented with a conventionalized flower pattern.<sup>21</sup> Even the small bell which hangs from the rope passing around the body has been retained, although Barye places it beneath the body so that it is invisible in the illustration. Finally, the whole composition which has somewhat the appearance of papier-mâché in the drawing and water color has gained immensely in vitality and volume in its translation into a three-dimensional medium.

The reader may have observed that the illustrations of this discussion present the group from only one angle.<sup>22</sup> It was from this angle, if we are to judge from the few extant documents, that Barye conceived and controlled the work. And it is from this angle alone that the group is most coherent as an artistic unity. But when he came to model the group in plaster, Barye was confronted by the old problem of making it convincing from all sides, since, after all, as the centerpiece of a table decoration, it would be seen from every direction. In an attempt to solve this problem he placed a fourth figure at the back of the howdah. This man, dressed in a cape which billows violently in an imaginary breeze, has just hurled a spear at the tiger which has seized the elephant's hind leg (the end of the spear may be seen in Fig. 1). As a center of interest for the diners who were so unfortunately placed as to be sitting on this side of the composition, the inclusion of the fourth figure has some meaning, but it adds nothing to the composition as a whole. Indeed it detracts considerably from the group when seen from any angle other than that from which our illustration has been taken. The outstretched arm is in unpleasant contrast to the closely knit lines of the other figures. That this figure is an afterthought on the part of Barye becomes even more apparent if one observes that when the group is seen from the angle at which the artist conceived it (as in Fig. 1) this fourth figure is invisible.

As a work of art the Tiger Hunt must certainly be considered one of Barye's outstanding achievements. If it lacks the unified and restrained passion of such groups as the Tiger Devouring a Gavial, the Panther Seizing a Stag, or the Panther Devouring a Hare, it has a sense of movement and drama which appeals more immediately to human emotions. And as a piece of *cire perdue* casting it has great technical interest.

We need not feel too deeply disappointed that the whole project was never carried to completion. The architectural framework, with its bejeweled ornamentation, might very well have concealed the virtues of the individual groups. And considered as a table decoration, the Tiger Hunt and its companions are only absurd. One cannot blame Barye for this. As the foremost sculptor of animals of his day, he fulfilled the specifications of his commission. No one would have had more cause for chagrin than the Duc d'Orléans himself if his artist had not measured up to the promise of the Tiger Devouring a Gavial. We must look to the Duke for an explanation of this astounding program. Perhaps it was forced upon him by family or civic interests, which felt that some fitting recognition should be paid the sculptor. Perhaps the Duke was a sportsman by nature and was filled with enthusiasm at the idea of having so many wild animals to look at while presiding at official dinner parties at the Tuileries. Or perhaps he was too young to know any better: when he gave Barye the commission he was only twenty-four.

21. A modification of such a pattern, for instance, as occurs on the border of a rug in the portrait of the Adil Shahi Kings of Byapur, cf. Manucci, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XXXIV.

22. The point of view presented in the illustrations is almost exactly midway between a direct side view and a three-quarters view from the rear, a five-eighths view, so to speak.

## REVIEWS

### THE NEW VIENNESE SCHOOL

KUNSTWISSENSCHAFTLICHE FORSCHUNGEN, II. Edited by Otto Pächt, 160 pp.; 81 figs. Berlin, Frankfurt, 1933.

The *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen* is perhaps the most advanced organ of European academic writing on art history today. It is published by a group of very cultivated and sensitive young art-historians—mainly Viennese, but including several Germans and Russians—who follow in the tradition of Riegl, and are concerned with the structure of individual works of art and the principles underlying styles and their development. Although some of this group (especially Alpatoff and Kaufmann) are also interested in the content of art and the specific historical conditions under which new forms arise, their attention has been given mainly to the study of forms as an independent science. The references to meanings and to the causes of historical change are usually marginal or are highly formalistic and abstract. The strength of the group lies in the intensity and intelligence with which they examine formal arrangements and invent new terms for describing them. They draw on contemporary writings in philosophy and psychology and welcome suggestions from neighboring fields in the effort to build up a "science of art." Drs. Sedlmayr and Pächt, above all, have found in Gestalt psychology formulations and tendencies congenial to their own views on the nature of art; they have also excerpted from the logical positivists and related writers on the philosophy of science (Lewin, Carnap, Reichenbach) various observations on method.

Precisely because their writings are often programmatic, being presented as examples of new approaches to art or as corrections of inadequate current methods, it is necessary to summarize the general notions underlying their work, especially for American students who have been fairly indifferent to theoretical problems. Unfortunately, their views have nowhere been published in a carefully reasoned and systematic form, but have appeared in programmatic essays or reviews or in parenthetical dicta in the course of monographic writing. It is therefore difficult to describe their theory as more than a tendency, still fluid and changing; the essays in this volume are hardly uniform in character, and whatever directions and theoretical assumptions are revealed in them have perhaps already been modified or abandoned by some of the writers.

Dr. Sedlmayr has been somewhat more explicit than the others. He has published two articles on the theory and method of the history of art: *The Quintessence of Riegl's Doctrines* (the introduction to Riegl's *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Vienna, 1929), and a programmatic essay, *Towards a Rigorous Science of Art*. The latter heads the first volume of the *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen* and may be taken as an introduction to the program of the group or, at least, of the editors. Here Dr. Sedlmayr distinguishes a first and a second science of art, the first, simply gathering and ordering the material according to outward signs and evidences, like documents, inscriptions, conventions of shape and those symptomatic elements which for some scholars constitute "style"; the second—his own—concerning it-

self more with "understanding," with the underlying structure of forms and the pervading principles according to which the work of art becomes an organized expressive whole. The second is considered the higher science, but admittedly presupposes and utilizes the first; for without the ordered materials and assured data of the first, the second cannot operate successfully. On the other hand, the second, through its insight into forms, may even throw light on unsolved problems of classification.

The logic of the methods of the second science is unfortunately not presented in the article; but constant reference is made to Gestalt psychology as a scientific basis for explaining the organized character of shapes, colors, and spaces in works of art. Following this psychological theory of how perception is organized, the investigator of the work of art or style of art looks for an underlying pattern or configuration or ordered mode of seeing which constitutes the basic principle of the work or style. From this he deduces not only the character of the parts, but many non-formal aspects of the work, even its content and its history; for a given mode of seeing, in virtue of its peculiar nature, can admit only certain embodying objects, and has limited possibilities of development. To discover this basic pattern or principle the student must possess first of all the "correct" attitude to the work; he must approach it as an organized whole before he can acquire insight into the necessity of its structure and formal relations. The insight is then verified by analysis, which confirms in the formal connections of numerous details of the work the discovered principle of the whole.

The distinction made between the merely descriptive and classifying nature of the first science and the higher "understanding" of the second is not so much a distinction between the values of observation and theory, such as agitates some physicists and philosophers of science, but corresponds rather to the distinction made by many German writers between the natural sciences, which "describe" or classify atomistically the inorganic and lower organic worlds, and their own sciences of the spirit (*Geisteswissenschaften*) which claim to penetrate and "understand" totalities like art, spirit, human life and culture. The great works of the latter depend on depth of insight, of the first, on ingenuity and exactness. Such a distinction, often directed against the plebeian manipulation and matter-of-fact, materialistic spirit of the best in natural science, puts a premium on wishful intuitiveness and vague, intangible profundity in the sciences that concern man. The natural sciences, no less than the sciences of history and culture, require insight, and the latter, no less than the natural sciences, require accuracy and the utmost respect for fact. Actually, there is little difference, so far as scientific method is concerned, between the best works of the so-called first and second sciences of art. They both depend on relevant hypotheses, precise observation, logical analysis, and various devices of verification. The sense of a fundamental difference in scientific status arises from two



aspects of the work of the second "scientist of art." In the first place, he is concerned with shapes or qualities which are not immediately apparent and which are rarely described in a definite manner. In the second place, the qualities which interest him are often involved with judgments of value and with modern artistic interests that have developed only recently and in opposition to older interests, and are limited to small groups of people who are never required to present their preferences or insights in an explicit and universally accessible form. We value insight into the "form" of a work more than we value knowledge of its date or author. To acquire the latter, it is often unnecessary to study the character of a painting as a work of art. But it is overlooked that the validity of either knowledge is established in the same way, and that in both we deal, not with absolute wholes, but with isolated aspects of the work of art, from defined points of view. The change in viewpoint hardly constitutes a new science of art. The break with past methods is more apparent than real. The difference lies in the type of problem and in the interests of the investigator, the Viennese group showing a special predilection for questions of formal arrangement. If in this respect, they are more advanced, let us say, more subtle, than their predecessors, in other respects they resemble those much deplored scholars who devote themselves largely to problems of attribution or the discovery of the subject or provenance or historical antecedents of pictures. Like the latter they are interested mainly in individual objects, isolated from the conditions of their creation; or, if they deal with a style or group of works, the larger field is again considered in itself, without respect to the causes of its unity, diversity or development. The hypotheses with which they approach historical problems can hardly be considered an advance on those employed by the ordinary run of art historians. The works of the "second science" are relatively poor in positive historical conclusions, and rich in ingenious, but unverified insights and in vague assertions.

A single instance will show how ill-founded is the hierarchical pretension of the second science of art. In his article on the system of Justinian, Dr. Sedlmayr tries to discover what elements or qualities distinguish mediaeval from classic systems of architecture, a question that has been asked by many historians of the lower class, and which in itself constitutes no real novelty. One of the three essential qualities or elements he finds is incommensurability and imperceptibility of proportions. In this he repeats the common idea, already well established in the nineteenth century, of the contrast of the mathematical order and clarity of the classic building with the irregularity and unclarity of the mediaeval. But there is a difference between the approaches of Dr. Sedlmayr and the archaeologists of the first school to this problem: the latter would verify their point by referring to actual measurements, or would engage in a detailed and critical discussion concerning the trustworthiness of existing measurements of buildings which stand in ruin or have been affected by numerous contingencies. Dr. Sedlmayr, on the other hand, presents his generalization in an aphoristic manner, and leaves it to others to do the measuring and verification. His procedure is all the more contrary to ordinary scientific practice, since it is well known that a difference of opinion exists among archaeologists concerning the nature of mediaeval proportions; any discussion which pretends to treat of proportions as an essential aspect of architecture must make clear in what

sense the concept is applied. Dr. Sedlmayr refers to proportions as "*schaubar*" and "*unschaubar*," although it is evident that proportions are not grasped by the eye; we do not *see* the proportions of a Doric column or a Greek interior, in contrast to an imperceptible Romanesque proportioning. What he means perhaps is that the shape of a Greek building or element is fully visible, or that its proportions can be inferred through a module, unlike the mediaeval churches in which many parts are ill-defined or overlapping, and no single unit can be used as a means of judging the scale. But even such interpretation is far from the rigor which Dr. Sedlmayr has indicated as one of the distinguishing goals of his second science of art.

Yet it is precisely his avowed desire to give to the special "understanding" of art the exactness of the natural sciences that distinguishes him from the ordinary exponents of the "sciences of the spirit." He is interested more in the artistic object, less in the state of mind or world-view of its creator, and constantly cites scientists and logicians of empirical tendency.

I do not know whether all the contributors to the *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen* would subscribe to the programmatic statements of Dr. Sedlmayr, or if their articles are considered by the leader as valid examples of the "right" tendencies and methods. It must be said that however sensitive, intelligent, and searching are some of the articles in the first two volumes of the series, they depart far from scientific rigor. Anyone who has investigated with real scruple a problem of art history knows how difficult it often is to establish even a simple fact beyond question and how difficult it is to make a rigorous explanation. To criticize the articles from the viewpoint of an ideal rigorous science—that is, a science scrupulous with regard to fact, probability and implication—this would be an act of malice, and would blind us perhaps to important approximations arrived at in reasoning, groping and guessing, and embedded in half-truths and errors. The articles, in general, are sketchy, clever, unsystematic, full of original *aperçus* and untested "belles-lettistic" characterizations. No group of psychologists or physicists would venture to announce articles of such looseness as a contribution toward a more rigorous science of psychology or physics.

In several of the articles we meet with spiritualistic conceptions and with allusions to qualities or causes which we have no means of verifying. The authors often tend to isolate forms from the historical conditions of their development, to propel them by mythical, racial-psychological constants, or to give them an independent self-evolving career. Entities like race, spirit, will, and idea, are substituted in an animistic manner for a real analysis of historical factors. Professor Kaschnitz-Weinberg tells us that the feeling for mass among the Egyptians must be due to racial inclination because this quality appeared so suddenly, without signs of a gradual development. And Dr. Sedlmayr explains to us that the system of Justinian, being "rational", could not last more than thirty years, whereas the succeeding Byzantine system, being irrational, was capable of a life of six centuries. This is palmistry or numerology, not science.

Although the subject of Dr. Sedlmayr's article is the system of Justinian, we have no inkling why it is of Justinian, what it has to do with this emperor, beyond the coincidence of time and place. All that the author admits is that the conditions (unspecified) of the reign of Justinian were favorable to the immanent emergence of this system; but what these conditions were,



how they were favorable, we are not told; at any rate, the system is attributed to Justinian, not because the emperor or his particular society exerted a positive influence, but rather because the immanent destiny of the idea of a certain system of architecture was favored—or, at least, not blocked—by the tasks set for architects by Justinian. The relation of the tasks to the system and its development is nowhere discussed. This neglect of concrete relationships is masked by the brilliant variety of aspects, largely formal, treated briefly by the author. The appearance of comprehensiveness conceals the lack of historical seriousness in such writings. We do not reproach the authors for neglecting the social, economic, political and ideological factors in art, but rather for offering us as historical explanations a mysterious racial and animistic language in the name of a higher science of art.

The new Viennese group wishes to be concrete in analysis of works of art as individual, objective, formal structures; but in turning to history they lose sight of the structure of the historical object, namely, the particular human society, and deal with absolute general categories that seem to produce history by their own internal logic. The new Viennese school has, in fact, no historical objects. They tend to explain art as an independent variable, the product of an active spirit, or a *Kunstwollen*, which has an immanent goal and which may even determine the conditions congenial to the kind of art this *Kunstwollen* is destined to produce. The school lacks an adequate conception of history to direct their historical interpretations in the sense of that scientific rigor which they require in the analysis of forms. They prefer, in short, teleological deductions to an empirical study of historical conditions and factors.

It cannot be argued that their real aim is to create a science of art, rather than a history of art; for while this distinction expresses, perhaps, the inclination of some of the writers, yet no article in this volume is strictly a work of *Kunstwissenschaft*, i.e., dealing systematically with supposedly inherent, general, historically unconditioned aspects of art. A problem of history is often at the center of the formal analysis and interpretation, and the writers usually cannot refrain from ambitious historical conclusions.

It must be pointed out further that the limitations of the school are not confined to the historical aspect of art. Their attitude to the work of art as an historical object corresponds to their formalistic approach. Just as the abstract *Kunstwollen* creates its own history, so the "structure" or "principle" of the work as a whole seems to create its own parts. Dr. Sedlmayr apologizes for the remnants of positivist, naturalistic thought in Riegl and begs us to read "part-whole relation" when Riegl says "cause." The nature of the individual work is grasped more and more as something strictly internal in its origin, that is, dependent on a logical working out of structural principles, and forming finally a kind of self-regulating aesthetic machine, in which there is very little that cannot be deduced from the autonomous whole or center. The multiplicity of conditions which enter into the formation of a work of art is reduced to the action of a "principle," and the discovered structure or principle is sometimes substituted for the work itself.

The doctrinaires of the school have not investigated their own method of approach or inquired into its relation to contemporary values in art and social life. They assume that it is a purely "scientific" approach without presuppositions or sets of values which operate in the choice of objects and aspects and in the applica-

tion of a method. When we observe the broad abstractions and unverifiable subtleties, the straining to create insights, the conceits of formal observation that often crop out in such writings, we are reminded of the practices of contemporary art and art criticism, in which the inventive sensibility creates its own formalized objects, delights in its own "laws," and enjoys its absolutely private fantasy, justifying this activity as an experimental system of artistic deduction, or as an intuitive perception of essences and wholes.

Despite (or, perhaps, because of) the abundance of references to contemporary philosophy (and other fields) in the writings of the theoretical leaders of this group, they lack a consistent theoretical foundation. It is significant that Dr. Sedlmayr turns to idealistic philosophers and sociologists (Scheler, Vierkandt) when he discusses history and society, although he continually appeals to methodologically materialistic and empirical writers (Reichenbach, Lewin, Carnap) to document his ideas of rigorous scientific method. The inconsistency is apparent enough, but has not been sufficiently felt by Dr. Sedlmayr. His admission in 1929 that the further development of Riegl's methods depends on the recognition of their weaknesses should be taken more seriously. Unfortunately he has not made clear just what these weaknesses are.

Despite these defects, American students have much to learn from this new and already influential school of German historians of art. We lack their taste for theoretical discussion, their concern with the formation of adequate concepts even in the seemingly empirical work of pure description, their constant search for new formal aspects of art, and their readiness to absorb the findings of contemporary scientific philosophy and psychology. It is notorious how little American writing on art history has been touched by the progressive work of our psychologists, philosophers and ethnologists.

I have summarized in detail the articles in this volume in the hope that students who do not read German will be enabled to form some idea of the character of formalistic art history in Germany and Austria to-day.

1. The first essay, *Remarks on the Structure of Egyptian Sculpture*, by Prof. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, is vaster in scope and more systematic in intention than the title indicates. It is an effort to deduce the underlying principles of Egyptian art and to distinguish Old Oriental art from European as a whole. The author's conclusion that Egyptian sculpture is the conservation of organic life through inorganic forms, the effort to achieve an absolute stability and immobilization, a quality of timeless, incorruptible being, is familiar enough since Hegel, and had been felt by the poets before it was formulated by the scientists of art. But Kaschnitz-Weinberg's conclusion differs in several respects from the common poetic characterization, apart from the more systematic formal analysis and the effort to distinguish precisely between early and later Egyptian art: first, in that he formulates the nature of Egyptian art as having grandiose, quasi-metaphysical properties, which are presented as prior to and above the works themselves; second, in that he holds these properties are willed by the Egyptians and are inherent in some aboriginal psychological predisposition of the people of the ancient Orient (cf. on this point the article by Andrae, in the recent Dörpfeld *Festschrift*); third, in that he concludes the structure and qualities described are altogether independent of Egyptian culture as a whole, and even of the mode of representation: he sees the content merely as a material poured into a preëxistent ideal mould. It would be hard to discuss these

views critically in the author's broad and often intrusive terminology. To say that Egyptian art is "petrified form, not formed material," or to speak of the "timeless endlessness" of Egyptian space, or to comprehend all European art since the neolithic period under the categories, ornament, activism, and incorporeality, whereby the expressionism of the twentieth century and neolithic art become identified psychologically, all this stimulates our fantasy and suggests possible distinctions, but it carries us far from the objects, to the irreducible particularity of which the second *Kunstwissenschaft* is dedicated. It is a typical practice of expressionistic art criticism and cultural history.

2. The article of Dr. Sedlmayr on *The System of Justinian*—a chapter from a projected book on architectonic systems—analyzes the buildings of Justinian as the first mediaeval system and Hagia Sophia as the most crucial structure in history, summarizing the whole past of architecture and pointing to the mediaeval future and even beyond.

The characteristics of the system of Justinian are: (1) the embracing or overlapping (*übergreifende*) form—a large arch which spans two or more subordinate arches, (2) the embracing or overlapping baldachin, (3) incommensurable proportions. Not all mediaeval architecture has these three elements, but all architecture which has these is mediaeval. Late classic art knew the baldachin vault, but a baldachin resting on a wall or on supports distinct from the dome or vault, whereas in mediaeval art the baldachin is primary and homogeneous, continuous with its supports, and embraces, or grows into, the wall as well. It is the distinct skeleton of the walls, which constitute a filler. Given the embracing baldachin, which is the spatial application of the simpler principle of the embracing arch, Dr. Sedlmayr deduces a whole series of characteristics of mediaeval architecture, including the numerous vertical bays of Romanesque and Gothic, their fugitive proportions, their diaphanous structure, their technical complexity and calculation. In the single idea of the embracing baldachin is latent the whole variety of types of the period of Justinian, and in the latter is contained the variety of subsequent forms. This unfolding of immanent possibilities could be realized only where the material problem or task was favorable to the logical implication; that conditions were indeed favorable was due to a peculiarity of mediaeval thought, which was itself dualistic in a manner analogous to the formal dualism of the embracing baldachin.

If in this highly deductive and compact article, few of the broad assertions are supported by historical evidence, the author has promised subsequent articles to provide fuller proof (see *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1935.).

The following difficulties may be observed in his theories. The concept of system is not sufficiently clear; it is only vaguely distinguished from formal structure. Proportions and various stylistic qualities are included in the discussion of the system, but the exteriors of buildings, the structure of the galleries, are neglected, though integral elements of the system. The system of Justinian is called the first mediaeval system because of the embracing forms; yet it must be admitted that there are whole groups of mediaeval buildings—Carolingian and Romanesque—which lack this principle. Nonetheless, in discussing the architecture of the fifth and sixth century in Syria and Asia Minor, which reminds many scholars, including Dr. Sedlmayr, of Romanesque architecture, he states that it is unmediaeval, because it lacks the embracing form. Thus in

delimiting a style, the "principle" or system becomes an atomistic concept, as in nineteenth century archaeology, which distinguished Romanesque and Gothic architecture by the round and pointed arches. I do not doubt that a scholar proceeding from a study of Romanesque and Gothic art might arrive at other definitions of the mediaeval, which would exclude the buildings of Justinian as unmediaeval. At any rate, Dr. Sedlmayr's broad definition entails a theory of the Byzantine origin of western mediaeval architecture, a theory which is very doubtful, and which will probably shatter on the difficulties of establishing a genetic continuity of Byzantine and Romanesque building.

Thus we cannot deduce from his conception the embracing vertical shafts (comprising two or more stories of superposed arches), which are crucial for the development of Romanesque and Gothic architecture. Dr. Sedlmayr assumes that the numerous stories and the verticality of the Western mediaeval systems follow directly from the baldachin principle, but I believe this assumption is neither historically nor logically plausible. If, in the history of the system of Justinian, the form of the dome seems to precede the form of the wall, in the mediaeval systems, the reverse is true: the vertical shafts are prior to the vaults. In the first, the wall was skeletonized after the dome had long been employed; in the second, the skeletal wall-form preceded the application of the vault. This difference in process of development corresponds in turn to the difference between the opposed centralized and basilical loci of the two developments. The superposed stories and long naves of mediaeval churches are presupposed in the traditional basilical type which is essentially foreign to the system of Justinian. The vertical shaft, embracing two stories, on the other hand, can be cited in Persian and Mesopotamian architecture (Ctesiphon, Hatra) and in the Spanish-Roman aqueducts (Merida), as well as in later Northern wood building. It may, however, be an independent invention of the early Romanesque architects. Significant for the distinction between this embracing shaft and the embracing arch form is the fact that in many mediaeval churches where both the embracing shaft and arch are used (Caen, Mt. St.-Michel, Laon, St.-Remi, Reims) the horizontal moldings run across the supports of the embracing arches, but not across the free vertical shafts. The verticality, in other words, is determined here, not so much by the supposedly Byzantine element, as by the non-Byzantine and possibly native shaft. If S. Vitale shows a tendency toward accented vertical bays, we cannot infer therefore that Gothic verticality is inherent in the system of Justinian, any more than we can say that Romanesque verticality or squatness is inherent in classical architecture, because of the elongated or dwarf columns that appear in certain late classical buildings. The particular character of Gothic verticality is not only a matter of the proportions of individual bays or wall-units, but also of the relations of these to the various axes of the building, relations which are irreducible to the early Byzantine baldachin.

Dr. Sedlmayr concludes from his study of the historical stages of the baldachin in late Roman architecture that the system of Justinian is essentially a development in Roman architecture, in opposition to those who have stressed an East-Hellenistic or Oriental origin of early Byzantine building. He admits, however, the importance of an eastern contribution in mass, space, and decoration; but unfortunately he does not attempt to evaluate it or define it precisely, and therefore remains unconvincing, somewhat unclear, despite his emphatic



assertion of a Roman origin. The dependence of the solutions of Justinian's architects on the pendentive and squinch, which are hardly Roman inventions, also weakens the strength of his conclusions. Similarly his description of Armenian architecture as a merely provincial style is inadequate. Our knowledge of the architecture of the fifth century is still so slight that we hesitate to consider an element first documented in the earlier sixth century as necessarily an innovation of that period. Already in the first part of the fifth century there appears in Italian churches the great apse embracing an open arcade, as in the apsidal and niche spaces of Hagia Sophia and S. Vitale; and in the Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna a great arch embraces three arches on the inner walls. Dr. Sedlmayr eliminates it as irrelevant by the argument that the great arch does not really belong to the columns, but rests on a projecting console, as in some Roman buildings. The principle however is there; in none of the Roman examples does such an arch embrace three smaller arches.

There is one important consequence of the embracing arch for proportionality that has been overlooked by Dr. Sedlmayr, although it reveals the interplay of two of his (otherwise unconnected) principles. In the arch embracing two or more arches, the large arch and the smaller encompassed arches often spring from a common support or from adjacent members of the same height. Therefore a given unit of height may be associated with two or more distinct spans. This bivalence of units is a common mediaeval trait; but it is already foreshadowed in late classical art where adjacent arches of different span spring from one level or surmount bays of uniform height.

The problem of proportion emerges again in Dr. Sedlmayr's discussion of the technique of the system of Justinian. He recognizes the importance of the technique of construction for the interpretation of the building, though he treats technique more as the form of technical thinking than as the total means and method of construction. After Choisy, he sees that in Hagia Sophia *tout est calcul*, and judges that in this respect system and technique are one. But we are led to ask: are they formally analogous or are they simply related as end and means? Since the building was admired in its own time as a scientific accomplishment, are we to believe that the aesthetic structure has qualities of a scientific-intellectual order? How can system and technique be analogous if the system shows no spirit of calculation, but the very opposite, in its incommensurable proportions?

These difficulties are perhaps resolved in the unintelligible section on the *Denkweise* of the building and its analogy with the religious-philosophical conceptions of the Middle Ages.

In spite of these shortcomings, the article is extraordinarily stimulating because of the problems raised, the numerous insights and the comprehensive scope. It should inspire fresh investigations of early mediaeval architecture.

3. Prof. Swoboda's *Towards the Analysis of the Florentine Baptistery* applies the method of Andreades' article on Hagia Sophia (I) to a smaller monument, but derives its categories independently. First, the author reconstructs the original appearance of the exterior which has been modified by later accretions. This original form is skilfully presented in a retouched photograph. By analysis of the fine variations and irregularities, the qualities of surface and mass, the divisions and subdivisions, Prof. Swoboda reveals the great complexity of the building as a design. He defines its

Romanesque character in terms of the compact, composite structure of wall masses and the distinction of a light, outer and a heavy, inner layer within this wall. He tries also to isolate a specifically Florentine quality which is verified in other monuments of the region. Florentine are: (1) the classical orders of the outer layer, replacing the outer wall layer, yet maintaining the layer character, (2) the banded decoration which attenuates the plastic contrasts through its own surface ornament and linear effects, (3) the sketchy, suggestive, tenuous and untectonic, non-functional character of the imposed classical elements, (4) the contrast of these attenuations and linear and ornamental elements with the overt drastic assertion of the masses of the building in the corners and cornices. Prof. Swoboda observes also the precocious artistic autonomy of the architecture with respect to cult. The design is independent of immediate practical conditions, whether religious or constructive. He does not tell us, however, what it *does* depend on.

The article includes also some historical observations, which are inseparable from the preceding analysis. Prof. Swoboda shows the relation of the building to early Byzantine and Roman interiors, as well as to contemporary Romanesque works, and finally deduces a dating in the first half of the twelfth century.

4. The essay of the late Maria Hirsch on *The Figure-Alphabet of the Master ES* is unfortunately a posthumous and incomplete work. Her sensitive observations make us regret all the more the fragmentary character of this essay. It was published from her notes by the editors, and is not entirely homogeneous. The merit of this paper lies in the formulation of the aesthetic principles of Gothic script; on this basis the author proceeds to analyze the alphabet in question, one of the most typical and expressive works of the mid-fifteenth century. She studies with an admirable precision the relations of the ornament to the structure of the letters; and arrives at a valuable characterization of the artist's manner of drawing, his linear fantasy, and his mode of composition. She says very happily of his figure style that it is *zugleich maximal verklammert und maximal zerstückt*. The essay is one of the first of its kind and opens a large field in mediaeval researches, for it pertains not only to the ornament of mediaeval initials, but to all works in which animals and figures have been applied to, or fitted to, an already determined form, like a trumeau or the head of a sword, or to any terminal object. In one point the study of the adaptation seems to me to fall into mechanical and inadequate analogies—in the assimilation of the movements of the constituent figures to the normal ductus of the script. I could not verify the analysis made at this point; the directions of the figures in the K are opposed in fact to the normal script ductus; and one could infer from the nature of the style of ES that he would not practice such an assimilation. I feel also that the distinction of the two modes of alphabetic figuration, by conformation to the letter as a frame, and by approximation to the letter as a framework, while valid as possible modes, which can, in fact, be verified elsewhere, is not valid here, and is invoked by exaggeration of minor differences and by liquid subtleties.

5. The article by Dr. Otto Pächt, *Formal Principles of Western Painting of the Fifteenth Century*, deals with the relations of spatial composition to surface pattern in Dutch, Flemish, and French painting of this period, and with the distinction of national constants in these three arts on the basis of differences in such relations. He observes correctly that the formal



development of Western painting cannot be grasped through studies of space or perspective alone, that for aesthetic experience the pattern formed by the projection of the spatial elements on the pictorial surface is an essential component. Two modes of organization may therefore be distinguished within a painting of this period—one in depth, a second in surface. It is to the surface form, however, that Dr. Pächt gives the greater importance, even to the point of deriving the space composition from the mode of surface patterning. The peculiarities of perspective in Flemish art prior to the mid-fifteenth century he explains by the character of the surface design, by the will to obtain continuous, dense patterning, with analogies of neighboring elements. The depth composition becomes a sort of reversed projection of the surface into the picture. "The capacity of the pictorial space depends on the projective capacity of the pictorial surface." This is a "law" of all pictorial fantasy in the Netherlands. The silhouettes of units are close together or overlap, and one may serve as the background of the other. Hence the equality of the human figure and his surroundings, and the homogeneous character of the visible world. The decorative unity is independent of schemata or clear order, but is determined by balance and continuity of forms. Flemish art is therefore elastic and adaptable to the most varied problems of representation. These qualities are for the most part typical of early Dutch and French painting too, but with several differences.

In Dutch painting there is no *horror vacui*, no close connection of adjacent contours, but a separation or isolation of objects, and a tendency toward broad empty ground or decorative intervals. Dutch art discovers the value of free space, of emptiness and of breadth and bareness of surface. When Flemish compositions are copied by a Dutchman, they are widened, and the units separated. Dutch art therefore has plain, unarticulated silhouettes, without striking correspondences of adjacent elements—an isolating verticalism, distinct from the Gothic in that it is not the vertical which is accented or isolated, but the continuous free space between and behind the figures which is developed as an aesthetic factor. The substitute for the internal pictorial unity, destroyed by the isolating method, is the connecting gesture. New types of figures are created in Dutch art, speakers who function only as guides, and whose gestures are addressed to the spectator. Dutch art therefore has a unity involving the spectator, a *geheimes Mitwissen*, the whole evoking a purely passive remote contemplation which in turn reflects an unconnected juxtaposition of unrelated single objects.

In France there is a third type of surface order. Surface and depth are built up according to a preëxistent geometrical schema, a system of diagonals which organizes both space and surface into a regular and clear network. This schema is not directly felt as prior or imposed, because the world that is rendered is also subject to it, because the topography, the buildings, the people, are all cast in shapes congruent with such regular and clear schematism. Hence the orderly cultivated world of French art, the lack of variety, the inexpressiveness. A preconceived form is prescribed, no matter what the subject. The slight variability of the *a priori* fixed pictorial pattern makes it impossible in many cases to realize the individual illustrative suggestions of the subject in more than a superficial way. The schemas have only slight adaptability and are relatively little subject to changes in period style. The characteristic lozenge form of composition is found in the Limburg brothers, Fouquet, and Callot. It is con-

crete and clear, a projecting skeleton. In French art originality is a variation on a given theme, not the invention of a new theme. Hence the inaccessibility to foreign influence except in a minor way, but the greater susceptibility to Italian art which provides regular forms.

I have taken pains to present the main ideas of Dr. Pächt as fully as a review permits, because of the rarity of thinking and observation like his in the English and American writing on the arts he deals with, and our real need of formal analysis and fresh historical generalization.

His conclusions are to a certain degree read back into fifteenth century art from descriptions of French and Dutch art of later periods—this is especially evident in his conception of Dutch art where he leans heavily on Riegl's characterizations of the painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to that degree one may question the adequacy of his analysis of fifteenth century art. It is for the special students of these arts to judge whether Dr. Pächt's observations have the generality he attributes to them. A layman, attentive to his method and reasoning, will observe within his subtle, but sometimes obscure, analyses an excessive tendency to centralize the aspect which interests him and to interpret it as the determining factor of the whole. The obvious interaction of the formative elements is neglected, as if the mode of perspective and the spatial design had no influence on the surface pattern, as if the manner of drawing, the particular expressive values, and the content were mainly by-products or neutral factors subject to an *a priori* surface form. Instead of studying the interrelation, functioning, and historical development of the essential aspects of fifteenth century painting, Dr. Pächt tries to deduce them all from a single aspect which is presented as the principle of the whole. The agreement of the perspective form and spatial representation with a particular surface pattern seems to imply for him their origin in that surface pattern or their purpose in the maintenance of just such a surface pattern. There are indeed such subordinations of aspects in art, but if formulated in a one-sided way, as is done by some German writers, we could never understand why there should be space or perspective at all. Such formalism leads to the common error, associated with the practices and theory of modern art, of assuming a one-sided relationship between formal pattern and representation, the latter existing only to effect a certain kind of pattern, itself prior to or superior to, the representation.

The historical portions of Dr. Pächt's article also suffer from the dogma of autonomous principles. His conception of the principles of fifteenth century art as constants, persisting to the present day, is historically formalistic and abstract in that the life and duration of these principles are thoroughly self-determined, independent of concrete conditions inside, or tangent to, the arts. Thus he makes the reception of foreign influences by French art and the historical mobility of the latter depend on its schematic surface form, a view which is historically inept. It corresponds to the Hegelian notion that whatever befalls a being arises from its own inner nature—as in Chesterton's story of the man whose nature it was to be shot at constantly, and whose enemies were therefore exempt from any responsibility.

It is not clear, further, what Dr. Pächt means by his formal "constants." This concept, borrowed from the natural sciences, where it has a precise and controllable meaning, is applied here in a triple sense: first, as a specific quality which persists in a given art during an

indeterminate period of time *while other qualities are changing*; second, as the formal principle of an art, the *Gestaltungsprinzip* itself; third, as the goal or ideal which the art is approaching. He assumes not merely that a given quality persists, but that this quality is a central principle, since it is from the constant that he derives numerous other aspects of the art, including even its history. To establish the first sense of his "constant" it would be necessary to indicate the historical and spatial limits in which the constant is observable, since it is predicated of historical, changing objects, like styles of art. This Dr. Pächt does not attempt to do, beyond attributing the constant to such indefinite entities as French art, Dutch art, and Flemish art; he therefore leaves the reader with the vaguest idea of the constancy of his principle and the extent of the field to which it applies. Further, since Dr. Pächt holds to a Gestalt theory of art according to which the formal structure of a work or a style is an organized whole with interdependent and interacting parts, determined by a principle of the whole, we are led to ask how a constant is possible in a historically developing art; how there can be a rigorous structural unity in a style, if the style manifestly changes while a certain principle within it, often a central principle from which Dr. Pächt tries to deduce almost everything else, remains the same. And if the constant itself changes, exactly what is meant by the "constant"? If the constant has a history, how can one pretend to establish a constant without indicating its historical limits?

Considered empirically, Dr. Pächt's method of establishing his constants is open to obvious criticism. His example of the Dutch constant is found in the work of Bouts, a painter who worked mainly in the Flemish region (and whose Epiphany, to me, is much nearer to the Flemish "constant" than to the Dutch as described by Dr. Pächt); his example of the French constant is the work of a Dutchman, Paul of Limburg. In fact he verifies the constancy of the French constant by reference to the works of Poussin, a Norman who worked mainly in Italy, and of Callot, an Italianate artist from Lorraine. In his comparisons of artists of different countries he takes little if any account of differences of generation or period to establish the constancy of national oppositions; thus he contrasts Rembrandt and Rubens, the *Maître de Flemalle* and Bouts.

6. The article by Michael Alpatoff on the self-portrait of Poussin differs from Dr. Pächt's precisely in his recognition of the variety, interaction and even possible mutual independence of the qualities and aspects of a work of art. This difference is due partly to the difference in subject, Alpatoff being concerned with a unique painting of which he recognizes the complexity and ultimate irreducibility, whereas Dr. Pächt wishes to discover the principles common to a class of objects and to whole traditions of art.

The self-portrait is unique in Poussin's entire production, first, as a portrait, second, as a work dealing directly with the artist. Hence the great interest of a thorough investigation of this painting of which the special character seems to have escaped the attention of previous writers on Poussin. It is, paradoxically, a self-portrait commanded by a patron. The artist is thrown back into self-contemplation, contrary to his usual practice and interest, by the will of another person. He shows himself in the middle of the picture, a realistically portrayed face of strong will and clear gaze, but surrounded by a bare wall, by picture frames and a fragment of a painting with the bust of a classical woman in profile, that is, by the professional environ-

ment of an artist, rather than by the common world of society or nature. This private world exhibits an insistent geometricality of form, rectangular shapes, sharply defined objects, which are related to the rectangularities of the artist's figure, and are dominated by it.

Alpatoff has hardly exhausted the interest of this work, but he has revealed in his short study its extraordinary complexity and its density of meanings and qualities. His study is not so much thorough as searching. It is attentive to numerous aspects and exhibits a highly developed critical sensibility, if not a systematic philosophy of art. He examines in turn the principles of formal organization in the regular divisions of the field, in the constellation of bodies, in the geometrization and framing of the parts; then the principles of the representation considered psychologically and in terms of content, the significance of the facial expression and the glance, their relation to the inert, geometrical world around them; then the interrelations, cooperative coincidence and simple juxtaposition of these principles, the social and individual factors in the qualities of the portrait, its historical position, and finally the character of our impression or contemplation, the mode of reception this portrait seems to entail in the spectator. All this is done experimentally, with insight and finesse, and with a frank admission of the limitations of these approaches and the necessary incompleteness of analysis.

Several criticisms may be made of Alpatoff's interpretation. He speaks of the symmetrical relation of the female head at the left with the artist's hand at the right, but this relation is not sufficiently explored. It is a real symmetry only with respect to an imaginary diagonal axis which twists the pattern of the picture frames. Alpatoff neglects also the possible meaning of the juxtaposition of the artist's ringed hand with an idealized female profile head, though he discusses at length the possible meanings of the head itself. The jewel of the ring, dark on light, is the counterpart of the woman's eye, and strengthens the assumption of a meaningful relationship of the opposed head and hand. He overlooks also the relation of the horizontal frames to the eyes of Poussin; the picture frames and the lines of the door seem to issue from the eyes, like a cross, and confer on them the force of a generating center. Because of material difficulties Alpatoff could not see the original painting again and had to omit all discussion of color. The interpretation depends largely on the photograph reproduced in the article. In this photograph the light and shade of the original are considerably weakened. The author therefore overlooks in his analysis the strong shadow on the lower right part of the painting. The light and shade as a whole are relatively neglected, though important in the structure of the work.

In his investigation of the interrelation and accord of principles, he admits that certain principles simply exist side by side, without discoverable interaction or accord, but he overlooks a conflict that he has himself unwittingly described. In one place he characterizes the work as a mirror portrait, as distinguished from those self-portraits in which the artist presents himself as seen by a spectator; but elsewhere he observes that the eye-level of the portrait is in the center of the field, i.e., at Poussin's chin. This discrepancy appears a second time in Alpatoff's description of the head, first, as seen from below, later, as thrown back.

In discussing the plurality of meanings as one of the principles of the work (*à propos* of the woman at the



left, who may be a muse, a sculptured bust, or a figure on the represented canvas), he refers to symbolist poetry and mediaeval theological interpretations as examples of such plurality. But here he seems to confuse: (1) the possible plurality in our interpretations, (2) the possible plurality of Poussin's allusion, (3) the modern uncertainty or unclarity about an originally definite and single meaning, and (4) the original uncertainty of the form of an object arising from ambiguities or insufficiencies in representation. Furthermore Alpatoff does not make it clear whether he is describing in this plurality a quality present in many of Poussin's pictures or a novel quality arising in this special, really unique and uncharacteristic situation of self-portraiture. He evidently identifies this plurality of meaning with unclarity, for he contrasts the character of the meaning with the un-Baroque clarity of the forms of the painting as a whole. This negative reference to the Baroque is inadequate, since the concept of clarity is relative to the field or part delimited. Thus Alpatoff discovers real or latent squares in various objects, but, as he says, no object in the picture is square as a whole, but only by segmentation, only as an incomplete or intercepted form. The unclarity, or better, the uncertainty, of the meaning of the bust of the woman arises precisely from this concealment of the greater part of the field to which she belongs.

Alpatoff indicates interesting analogies of the portrait to contemporary literary portraiture, to the psychology of the time (stoicism, the tragic heroes of Corneille), and to Cartesian philosophy (geometrically formed world, and a central thinking point). The sociological paragraphs are rather sketchy and slight, concrete social factors being neglected, and the author attending mainly to Poussin's consciousness of the autonomy of the artist and his national French loyalties. It is to be hoped that analysis of this aspect will be carried further. In the common view of Poussin as an intellectual artist, the specific content of his intellectuality, its original value and function in the concrete experience and society of his time, are substantial aspects disregarded or reduced to a system of analogies between various fields of culture.

7. It is the great merit of Dr. Emil Kaufmann, in his excellent article on *The City of the Architect Ledoux*, to have resuscitated Claude Nicolas Ledoux, a remarkable architect of the eighteenth century, who wished literally to found a new architecture. His work fell within the period of the neo-classic movement, but in him we perceive more clearly, through Dr. Kaufmann's study, the modern tendencies and aspirations of the architecture of his period. Although Ledoux was hostile to the French Revolution, his designs and his writing express more powerfully than those of any other architect of his time the moralistic, practical conceptions of the insurgent French bourgeoisie. Even in the formal aspects of his art it has been possible for Dr. Kaufmann to find analogies to the structure of the new bourgeois society. Ledoux himself was consciously engaged in a struggle with the accredited architecture of the past and conceived of his own style as revolutionary, as the beginning of a new art, adapted to a new philosophy of life. The very title of his book, *L'architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation*, which is a tendentious projection of his aims, declamatory, heroic, theatrical, points to the architectural propagandists of our time. Ledoux is, in a sense, the David of the French architecture of his age; he might have constructed the setting of the "Horatii" or the box and bath-tub of "Marat."

The article by Dr. Kaufmann deals with the city plan

designed by Ledoux in 1776 for the salt-works of the king. Besides the purely practical buildings—industrial and domestic—Ledoux imagined a series of Utopian structures, houses of peace, culture, fraternity and godless religion, and even an *oikema* for the purgation of sexual passions, which suggests the literary psychiatry of the twentieth century. For Ledoux the industrial and domestic buildings, though unornamented and severe, are as important architecturally as the buildings of religion and royal power. The central building of the city plan is significantly the Bourse. In presenting and analyzing this plan (which should be studied further in relation to utopias and the visionary cities of literature), Dr. Kaufmann attempts to formulate the general character of Ledoux's art and, incidentally, of all architecture since the end of the eighteenth century (this part is developed further in his more recent book, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier, Ursprung und Entwicklung der autonomen Architektur*, Vienna and Leipzig, Verlag Dr. R. Passer, 1934.). He finds the essential contribution of Ledoux in his discovery of an autonomous principle of architecture as opposed to the heteronomous nature of preceding building. By this Dr. Kaufmann means that in contrast to Renaissance and Baroque architects, who conceived of a building in terms of imposed sculptural, plastic, or pictorial qualities of mass and relief, or in terms of a symbolism expressing authority and hierarchical relations, the architecture of Ledoux and of modern times derives its aesthetic from the internal demands of construction and use, and is independent of any foreign, imposed artistic conception. A second distinction between the Baroque and modern styles, evident in Ledoux, is that in Baroque art the elements fuse or coalesce in terms of a higher unity differentiated according to picturesque, plastic, or hierarchical conceptions, whereas in later art the elements become independent entities combined inorganically in such a way as to maintain the clear singleness and completeness of the units. The first system Dr. Kaufmann calls the *Barock Verband*, the second he calls the "block or pavilion system." The contrast corresponds roughly to the Wölfflinian opposition of the Baroque singleness (*Einheit*) and the classic or neo-classic plurality (*Vielheit*). It is interesting that the Viennese city planner, Camillo Sitte, over forty years ago had called attention to the block character and the unorganized, additive design of modern building groups. But whereas Wölfflin and others have treated this opposition as an automatic development or reaction, Kaufmann has attempted to explain the artistic changes by specific social changes. The *Barock Verband* pertains to a feudal and absolutistic social structure in which the classes are mutually interdependent and each has a necessary, but differing, place in a transcending scheme; whereas the block or pavilion form reflects the character of bourgeois society which thinks of itself as composed of isolated, equally free individuals, each seeking his own life and subject to no transcending force that does not emanate from the will of these individuals. The latter correlation is with bourgeois ideology, not with the actual class structure and conditions of bourgeois society, and depends more on quotations from Ledoux than on a study of social and economic history. Although Dr. Kaufmann tries to establish a direct relation between the forms of society and architectural forms—an effort unique in the work of the group which publishes the *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen*—he minimizes the strength of his argument by qualifying the correlation as simply a product of ideas, with little regard to the interplay of social forces and conditions. And to avoid the onus of



materialism he stops to point out that prior to the use of concrete, Ledoux already employs the prismatic support, thus showing that new forms are not determined by materials—a "refutation of all materialistic art history." This is certainly a misleading bit of reasoning, first, since the prismatic form might be determined by material conditions other than the use of concrete, and second, since a materialistic view of art history is not necessarily a theory of materials, but of the concrete historical determination of forms as against a purely immanent, automatic, logical or animistic determination.

The unexpected modernity of Ledoux—who, though born in 1736, could speak of hygiene, economy, and use as the real bases of building, could formulate an aesthetic of pure geometrical masses without ornament, and could insist on the equal nobility of all construction, whether royal, religious, or industrial—this modernity has blinded Dr. Kaufmann somewhat to the specifically eighteenth century character of Ledoux's art, and has led him to an undercritical description of the style, wherein Ledoux appears to be little less than a contemporary of Le Corbusier, and his work, which still has on it the stamp of the Renaissance, appears to be at a pole opposite everything the eighteenth century had produced. Ledoux is for the author the founder of modern architecture, and the specific individual source of the art of men like Gilly and Schinkel in Germany. It is evident from even a cursory observation of the engravings in Dr. Kaufmann's article and book and the older monographs, that the designs of Ledoux are still tied to a formal symmetry and regularity which are the very opposite of modern design and relate more to the traditional styles of the eighteenth century. Also of his time is the accented massiveness of the architectural units. In these respects we cannot think of Ledoux as a forerunner of Le Corbusier, although his work may have had a deep influence on the architecture of the nineteenth century. In his programmatic views on a new style, Ledoux makes little, if any, reference, as is to be expected, to a change in technique, to new materials or modes of construction, but only to a new style arising from simplicity, clarity, sobriety, etc. In these respects he is part of a wider movement of his time, and continues the theories of writers like the Jesuit Laugier, who in the early 1750's wished to strip all ornament from buildings and to limit columns to purely tectonic applications. But the Jesuit father believed that a new style could arise only from a revision of the forms of moldings, whereas Ledoux, standing in a closer relation to the progressive elements of his time, anticipated a new style based on a new morality or new social conditions. In his conception of the universality of architecture as a practical, yet noble, art embracing all human construction, and in his effort to provide for all possible needs in building—including the ethical, the cultural, and the erotic—and to express in the physiognomy of the individual dwelling the occupation of the owner—the façade of the hooper's house being designed in concentric rings—he displays an encyclopaedist temper. Nearer than Laugier to Ledoux, and probably independent of him, proceeding from related bourgeois values and interests, were the numerous English architects of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who published designs for rural buildings. Some of the projects in Gandy's treatise on farm-houses, published in 1805, the year after the appearance of Ledoux's book, are much closer in outward aspect to twentieth century architecture than anything in the albums of Ledoux.

Dr. Kaufmann has not yet located Ledoux clearly within his own time. We do not grasp from his analyses how Ledoux relates to the parallel tendencies in the architecture of the latter part of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. We have the impression of a purely individual innovation that arises from the conditions of the time and yet remains unique and prophetic. Similarly, the relation of Ledoux to the architecture he seems to anticipate is somewhat obscured by the failure to state the characteristically eighteenth century qualities of Ledoux. One of the important aspects of recent architecture, foreign to Ledoux, is the informality and picturesqueness of design, even in apparently regular and unornamented constructions. These qualities were highly developed in the historicizing architectures of the nineteenth century, but especially in the mediaeval revivals, which influenced so deeply many of the progressive architects of the second half of the nineteenth century. These architects asserted the values of an "autonomous" architecture in Dr. Kaufmann's sense; yet they arrived at such values, not from the tradition of Ledoux, but from the needs of contemporary society and their experience of mediaeval architecture.

It must be said in conclusion that although Dr. Kaufmann's description of the loose, synthetic composition and of the block form of Ledoux's designs is excellently made, the categories like "autonomous" and "heteronomous" are inadequate to represent the characters and differences of Renaissance and modern art, and may confuse the student of art history. Is it correct to describe the sculptural qualities of Baroque architecture as a heteronomous imposition from without? The concept of the sculptural in architecture is used metaphorically to designate an extreme plasticity, but this plastic quality in the buildings is sufficiently different from sculpture in character, in context, in effect, for us to admit its distinctively architectural nature. It is a plastic quality which could exist only in a construction; it is thoroughly dependent on the scale, materials, spaces, and purposes of a building. And in the same way, to assert that the architecture of modern times is "autonomous" is to overlook the degree to which the designs of the architect are affected by pictorialism, by the modes of seeing and drawing developed in modern, and especially abstract, painting. If a mode of life and various interests of the society of Le Corbusier suggest luxurious smooth surfaces, terraced roofs, and bare walls, must we call this an autonomy of architecture in contrast to the symbolic and directly expressive decoration engendered by the society of the Baroque period and correlative with the values and mode of life of the owners of Baroque palaces? Terms like "autonomous" and "heteronomous" presuppose that there is such a thing as an inherent nature of architecture or of building, a pure Platonic nature, apart from the individual, concrete, historical examples of architecture. When the architect subscribes to this nature, he is supposedly an autonomous architect; when he seems to draw upon other arts, his art is heteronomous. The conception of an autonomous architecture is therefore related to that idea of a "pure art" which arises constantly among artists who wish to justify the theoretical or seeming autonomy or absolute independence of their activity as artists. They know only the "laws of art," and submit to no others. In the name of a similar purity, an architectural aesthete might deduce an art which conceals or suppresses the tectonic, constructive elements as non-artistic, and which constructs independently of these factors its own effects of mass and space and light. It is as an "autonomous" architecture that Geoffrey Scott defended the Baroque.

MEYER SCHAPIRO

CORPUS DELLA MAIOLICA ITALIANA I. LE MAIOLICHE DATATE FINO AL 1530 (BOLLETTINO D'ARTE: PUBBLICAZIONE ANNUALE NO. 1). By Gaetano Ballardini. Rome, La Libreria dello Stato, 1933.

Among the *objets d'art* greatly in favor during the sixteenth century were those majolica plates, bottles, and jars made in Urbino, Deruta, Gubbio, Siena, and Casteldurante, in quantities which seem today almost factory-like. These gaily decorated pieces, with an obvious appeal, never failed in their popularity with the collectors (for which, some, even in the first place, were made) right up to the nineteenth century, when there was a remarkable vogue for them, along with Palissy ware and the Limoges painted enamels. Now the earlier potteries of Italy, or the delicately lovely wares from Persia, are far more satisfying to contemporary tastes.

In the preface to this book, Roberto Periberi states rightly that the study of Italian majolica has not yet been pursued with the diligence, the acuteness, and the severity of method, followed by classical scholars in their researches on Greek vases. Besides, the objects are so scattered that study is difficult. He hopes that this *corpus* will result in a *Corpus Vasorum Italicorum* similar to that now being done for ancient vases. The importance for the study of all minor Italian arts makes this highly desirable, for the potters copied designs from prints, drawings, paintings, or other mediums, especially any designs that were very much in vogue at the moment. Because of this, the study of these plates and jars is of great help in attaining a well rounded knowledge of the Italian Renaissance.

The book begins with a short essay in which the author gives some interesting material on the exportation of majolica from Italy, beginning in the sixteenth cen-

tury and the pieces made for native and foreign patrons. He treats also of the earlier collections, most of which have entered public museums or been dispersed. He defines the position which he takes in regard to majolica, saying that he excludes, for example, the work of the della Robbias already dealt with at length by Marquand. The bibliography he will give us in a later volume. The new edition of Piccolpasso's *The Three Books of the Potter's Art*, promised in a footnote, was edited by B. Rackham and A. van de Put and published by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1934.

Following this essay comes a list of the public and private collections with notations of those with illustrated catalogues. Then he gives us a catalogue of all the pieces dated before 1530, known to the author, in chronological order, and with details of information such as the date, place of manufacture, shape, and any noteworthy detail such as symbols, inscriptions, etc. Then he notes the church or museum where it is preserved, or the sales catalogue in which it last figured. Then, following this, are ninety-three plates with three hundred and sixty half-tone cuts and thirty-four plates in color. There is an index at the back.

Naturally, such a book could not hope to be complete, but it is such a long stride forward that the next volume must be awaited with interest. It would be an excellent idea to have a supplement, in which the author could include further examples brought to his attention and bring up to date the information on the present whereabouts of many pieces. Number 195 (from the Coope Collection) and Number 220 (from the Bolton Collection) are now in the Walters Art Gallery. The same museum has a Casteldurante plate with the date 1517, which Ballardini fails to include in his list.

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